

**REFLECTIONS OF IDENTITY IN THE CITY;
ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM AS A TOOL
OF REMEMBRANCE AND NATIONHOOD**

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DECLARATION

This thesis has been written by Vasiliki Kynourgiopoulou and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

ABSTRACT

This is an interpretative thesis. Its purpose is to present an accessible and synthetic view of neo-classical architecture and urbanism in Greece in the years following the Greek Revolution of 1821. The forms and styles of the neo-classical buildings of Athens and urban plans are examined with the intention of interpreting their meaning in the society of 1821-1900s. Through this research I attempt to articulate and examine the significant aspects of neo-classical Athens and relate them to the larger themes of neo-classical architecture.

This thesis sets out to examine the reasons for the building in the neo-classical style in the city of Athens, in the period of 1821 – 1900s, and the effect such a monumental architecture had on Greece's national politics. I have linked Greek neo-classical architecture with politics and economics, and have identified the role of memory in the creation of Modern Greek identity. Moreover I have placed great emphasis on the idea of nationalism as “the state-to be”, as the prerequisite for self-identification.

This thesis investigates the active role of the past, in the society of 1821 – 1900, the negotiation of power among different interest groups, the attempts of the authorities to legitimise their existence through an appeal to ancient authority, and the counter attempts of the Greek people to resist dominant groups.

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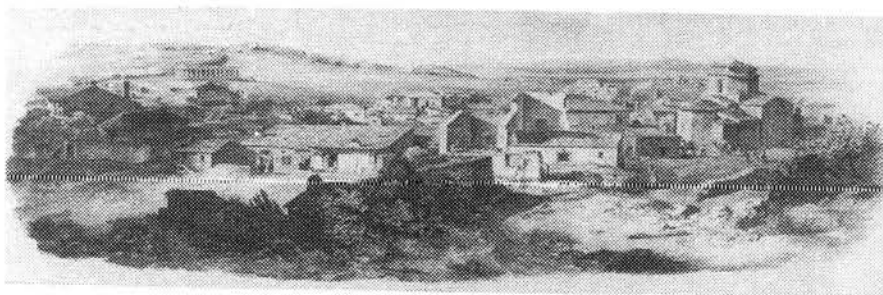
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PREFACE

The present study focuses on the urban planning and architecture in Athens between 1833 and 1900. In Greece, there is still a thirteen day difference between the old-style (Julian) calendar, which the Greeks used, and the new-style (Gregorian) calendar used in the West. I have maintained the dating of the original sources in the Julian calendar, unless otherwise noted. The government publications usually included both dates. In transliterating Greek words I have followed the Library of Congress system. Note that β (beta) is v in Modern Greek, Μρ becomes B, γ (gama) is rendered with a g unless it precedes gama, kappa, xi and chi when it becomes n. For the transliteration of individual authors I have followed the above rules. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the author. The Greek War of Independence is also referred to in the text as “Revolution” or the “War”.

The Greek State Archives are abbreviated GAK and Ephemeris tis Kyberniseos (FEK). Illustrated copies of the magazines and the press, like *Pandora*, *Athena* and *Ὁ Σοτήρ* could not be provided as they exist in microfilms and it is forbidden to produce them.

ΣΤΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΜΟΥ



First view of Athens in 1833.

Markiyianni, Nikolaos, *H Istoria tou Megarou ths Voulhs*
(*The History of the Parliament House*), Athens, 1979.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the result of an investigation into a specific building campaign, and my main aim is to present an accessible, synthetic view of neo-classical architecture and urbanism in Athens.

Each chapter examines significant aspects of neo-classical Athens and relates them to the larger themes of neo-classical architecture and use. In this thesis, I describe the birth of a modern capital, Athens, in the context of the creation of the Modern Greek State. I focus on the period from Otto's rule, in 1833, until 1900 when George I was the new King of Greece. By examining in depth the architecture and urban planning policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I have striven to explain how state architecture underpinned new governments in Greece and allowed the Athenian public to form a concrete image of their governing institutions.

In 1833, Athens was a desolate town. In its long history Athens had been part of the Greek, Roman and the Byzantine Empires, the seat of Frankish crusaders, and for almost four centuries an insignificant town of the Ottoman Empire. During the War of Independence many of the inhabitants had left Athens, seeking refuge in the countryside. At the time, Athens, with a mere handful of houses standing, became the capital of the new-born State. Two young architects, Stamatios Kleanthis and Edward Schaubert, students of Karl Friedrich Schinkel at the Berlin Bauakademie, were entrusted with the design of New Athens. Although they were not given any specific guidelines by the government, the proposed plan had to be "equal with the ancient glory and magnificence of this city and worthy of the century in which we live". This study examines the creation and gradual implementation of the plan for New Athens between 1833 and 1862, under the reign of King Otto of Bavaria, the first King of liberated Greece.

In the nineteenth century architecture and urban design were influenced both

by precedent and architectural theory, as taught in the academies, and by the political and social conditions specific to each location. The emphasis on the “international story” of the development of architecture pictures a homogenous field but sometimes disregards significant local differences. What I have tried to illustrate through my study of nineteenth century Athens is how the finite vocabulary of architecture and urban design can produce almost infinite meanings when applied to a specific place at a given point in time. Thus I have analysed not only the architects’ perceptions of the building activity, but also the intentions and criticisms of the government, the press and the public. In the synthesis of my findings I explain the conflict of interests and meanings, while respecting the contradictions of the time.

Until the nineteenth century, ancient Athens was the city that poets and architects wished to see, instead of the dilapidated Ottoman village that bore the same name. After the liberation however, Athens, while still resting on its ancient glories, began to calibrate its progress on a new scale; by measuring how successfully it had overcome its immediate Ottoman past, and how close it was to the other cities of “civilised” Europe. The triple character of the ancient, Ottoman and modern city produced an uncertain balance of national pride and modernisation evident in the discourses of the time. Focusing on architectural and urban practice I have sought to describe the points of continuity and discontinuity between Ottoman Athens and liberated Athens. Mapping the city’s passage from one regime to the other has not been easy because the War of Independence created a rupture with the past that has been intensified by recent historiography, which tends to look at the past through the lenses of the revolutionary rhetoric.

My research explores the space between rhetoric and architecture, theory and praxis, architectural reality and literary tradition. I have tried to decipher written evidence as I reconstructed the architectural past. Reading through the press commentary regarding the plans I began to construct the image of the ideal city that was in the mind of the average (educated) Athenian. That image was never expressed in words. It was clearly not the picturesque “traditional village”. Neither was it the extravagant plan proposed for Athens, with its several diagonals.

In this study the extensive use of archival material and the press reveals have brought me close to the holy and the profane sides of the making of modern Athens. Traditionally, architectural history studies of “important” cities have treated their subjects with a solemnity that overlooks the uncertainty, coincidence, contradiction, drama and humour that are also part of the making. While the sacred character of elaborate celebrations and invented rituals attempted to establish the permanence of the new capital, the cynical commentary of the press captured the ephemeral nature of the city. I believe that the inhabitants of Modern Athens understood from the outset both the holy and the profane aspects of their city and expressed them through their humour. While Athenians lived with long building delays they came to realise the discrepancy between the grand, abstract ideas of Western governance on the one hand and the messiness of everyday governance, on the other. For Modern Greeks the duality of the Greek identity and the role of religion in the perception of *Hellenikotita* were paramount in their understanding of the city.

2. Methodology and Structure of the thesis

During the nineteenth century, the improvements in the city of Athens in terms of buildings and infrastructure were more than mere technical achievements. They symbolised the “recovery” and “awakening” of the whole nation. In exploring the notion of “becoming European” while searching for *Hellenikotita* (Greekness), I have focused on architecture and urban design and the formation of a new national character that verified the distance between Greece and the East. The Modern Greek State had three major political aims: to be accepted in the family of Modern European nations, to gain internal political unity and gradual territorial expansion and finally to express through the creation of new material culture their understanding and appreciation of the classical past. These aims are analysed through the documentation of the role of local authorities and inhabitants in the building process, the examination of all major planning projects for the new capital and the review of planning activities throughout Greece. Moreover, I have juxtaposed the architects’ design intentions with the public’s interpretation of the building process in order to show that Athens, as a capital city, carries many meanings created by both the architects and the city’s inhabitants. Hence the thesis is structured according to the following themes:

Historical Background, Neo-classicism in Europe and Greece, Building the National Image and Urbanism and the Creation of Modern Greek Identity.

Chapter One concentrates on the historical period from just before the Greek revolution of 1821 up to the 1900s. This Chapter analyses the political conditions that led to the creation of modern Greece, the ascent of the Bavarian Prince, Otto, to the Greek throne, and the decision to make Athens the capital of the new nation. It also presents an archaeological portrait of pre-and-post-liberation Athens, its economy and its society. For the political history, I have relied on the excellent study of Paparrigopoulos, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation)*¹ and Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*.² The voice of General Makriyiannis, one of the most important figures in the War of Independence, represented for me the spirit of the uncompromising Greek fighter, who wanted to belong to Europe without, however, compromising his national identity.³

Chapter Two examines the neoclassical architecture of Athens and its relationship to planning. While planning reflects the actual economic and social conditions of a city, monumental architecture reflects what a city would like to be. The elaborate building projects that were undertaken in nineteenth century Athens made evident the country's limited resources. They did, however, carry a significant symbolic meaning that helped strengthen the political image of the new capital. This part examines the historical events and debates that established the need and significance of the major institutions; the Academy, National Library, University, Palace etc. Different entities controlled the building of Modern Athens; the government, the patrons, the architects, and to an extent, the press. By closely following the building history of individual structures I have tried to calibrate the power that each of the above-mentioned entities exercised in the building of Athens. A closer study of the political rhetoric associated with each public project reveals the specific meaning that common architectural forms acquired in different settings. It

1 Paparrigopoulos, K. *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation)* Seferlis Publications, second edition 1955.

2 Petropoulos A. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.

3 Makriyiannis, *Strategou Makriyianni Apomnumoneumata (Memoirs of General Makriyianni)*, ed. J. Vlachogiannes, 2 vols. 2nd edition, Athens: E.G. Vagionake, 1947.

also reveals how a country “invented” its national architecture.

The cultural profile of post-liberation Greece is discussed in C.Th. Dimaras *Hellenikos Romantismos*.⁴ Philippides’ *Neoellenike architektonike (Modern Greek architecture)*⁵ and Mpiris’ *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona (Athens from the nineteenth to the twentieth century)*⁶ expertly discuss the style of nineteenth century Greek architecture.

Chapter Three examines the extensive city planning activities that took place in the early years of the Greek State to demonstrate the political and economic reconstruction under way. The rebuilding of Athens followed different European prototypes. Unlike the utilitarian grid pattern of most newly-designed Greek cities, the Athenian plan drew inspiration from the extravagant baroque experiments carried out in other European capitals. However, the scale of the original proposals had to be modified to fit the limited resources of the new state. An extensive review of the planning legislation reveals the complex process of city planning. Finally this part reviews the laypersons’ opinions regarding the city’s rebuilding, as it was expressed in the press and the government documents. Lacking the specialized vocabulary of trained architects, the Athenian public provided its own perception of an ideal city.

The contribution of the major architects in the initial designs is documented in Russack, *Deutsche Bauen in Athen* and Fountoulaki, *Stamatios Kleanthis (1802-1862)*.⁷ None of the above works, however, has made extensive use of archival material in Greece. My documentation of the city’s building process is based on archival material from the General State Archives (GAK) in Athens, the royal decrees (FEK) during Otto’s rule, and the relevant coverage in the press, especially the liberated *Athens*.

Chapter Four deals with the Greek perception of *Hellenikotita* (Greekness) and focuses on the duality of Modern Greek identity. Greece’s past is both classical and

⁴ Dimaras, C.Th. *Hellenikos romantismos (Greek Romanticism)*, Athens: Hermes, 1982.

⁵ Philippides, D. *Neoellhniki architektoniki (Modern Greek Architecture)*, Athens: Melissa 1984.

⁶ Mpiris, Kostas. *Ai Athinai apo tou nineteenth os tou 20ou aiona (Athens of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries)*, Melissa Publications, 1992.

⁷ Russack, Hans Hermann. *Deutsche Bauen in Athen*, Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942. Fountoulaki, Olga, *Stamatios Kleanthis (1802-1862): Ein griechischer Architekt aus der Schule Schinkels*, PhD. diss. University of Karlsruhe, 1979.

Byzantine. The idea of the modern Greeks being more attached to their Byzantine past than their ancient Greek one is symptomatic of the Western frame of mind that treats the ancient Greek past and heritage as being detached from Modern Greeks. The West perceived Greek history as a set of binary oppositions such as Byzantium and Classical Antiquity, Hellenism and Romiosyni. The neo-classical architecture and urban design of Athens is the painterly backdrop in front of which the narrative drama of national identity was played out. In this part of the thesis I examine how, despite the fact that architecture was the stage for the development of New Athens, it was memory and nostalgia that created and supported the special relationship with space, holding on to the essence of this relationship only the best aspects of Greek history. The co-existence of the old and the new as an organic development presented the city of Athens as a living organism. Public building along with the exploitation of the sense of nostalgia for the past, was used for the creation of the Modern Greek State, and forged the continuity from the past.

Athens as my native city helps me to understand unfamiliar cities. Cultural differences and special memories make each historian's reading different and unique. As in this case, I have interpreted nineteenth century Athens through the filter of my personal cultural baggage and the memory of a familiar, private and ideal city.

CHAPTER ONE

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This thesis is focusing on architecture and urbanism in nineteenth century Athens and how they were used as a tool of remembrance and nationhood. It is useful therefore to look broadly at the historical background of the Modern Greek state in order to understand the reasons that led to Greek Independence and to the formation of the new state. European politics, national politics and Greek political parties and economics play important roles in the creation of Modern Greece. (Pl. 1)

In this chapter we will examine the historical period from just before the Greek revolution of 1821 up to the 1900s when the Athenian neo-classical monuments were built. In this process, we will examine the politics behind the adoption of neo-classicism as a national style and the need for a creation of a Modern Greek identity. I have therefore divided the history of Modern Greece into three historical parts, starting from 1775, when Greek Enlightenment appeared, to 1821, the Greek Revolution. The second part is from 1821 to 1833 when Otto, the first King of Greece arrived in Athens, and the third part is from 1833 to 1900 when Greece was a Kingdom. The period from 1833 to 1900 is subdivided into Otto's rule from 1833 until 1862 and from 1862 until 1900 when George I became the new King of Greece.

I.1 NEO-GREEK ENLIGHTENMENT (1775-1821)

By the term neo-Greek Enlightenment we mean the historical period from the last quarter of the eighteenth century until the Greek Revolution. In this period, the Greeks, while they were fighting for their political independence from the Turkish rule, tried to establish the social, cultural and economic order of the new nation. The Enlightenment signified a secular civilisation of modernity and a greater intensity of the intellectual life.

The Greek Enlightenment differed from the Western (French) Enlightenment because it embraced the traditions of Christian Orthodoxy. The main variation of the Greek Enlightenment was the reconsideration of ancient philosophical conceptions in order to establish a historical lineage connecting ancient Greeks with modern Hellenes.¹ Some groundbreaking publications of the Greek Enlightenment were Rhigas Ferraïos' [or Velestilis] *Cartographic and Constitutional Imagination*, Phillipidis and Konstantas' *Modern Geography* and Moisioudax philosophical queries. All these were Greeks of the diaspora who lived abroad and often travelled to Greece. Rhigas Ferraïos was a poet, philosopher, cartographer, constitutionalist and political activist. He envisioned a revolution in the Ottoman territories that would not undo its multiethnic character but would merely reform the Turkish system to democratic rule. In an era of emerging nationalist movements, he was among the first to articulate the vision of the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkan region as a multi-ethnic cultural and political entity. Rhigas focused on the historical continuity of the Balkan region and addressed notions of tradition, culture and ethnicity. Rhigas' *Constitution (New Political Administration, Vienna 1797)* underscored the social impact of the French Revolutionary Constitution of 1792 and the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, as he included ideas of local autonomy and collaborative rule between various ethnic and religious regions. Rhigas' internationalism led to his extradition by the Viennese police and eventual execution, by order of the Sultan in Belgrade in 1798. (Pl. 2)

Phillipidis' and Konstantas' *Modern Geography* was based on the work of ancient Greek geographers like Pausanias and Strabo and on eighteenth century European geographers. Their work was based on experience and tried to describe the Greek landscape in every possible detail. *Modern Geography* is divided into two volumes, *On Earth* and *On Europe*. In both volumes they express philosophical ideas on the nature of man and democracy.

¹ For further information about the Greek Enlightenment see Petropoulos 1968, Tsoukalas 1977; 1991, Kitromilidis 1983, Dimaras 1985, Kaklamanis 1986, Scopetea 1988, Patzaropoulos 1989 and Jusdanis 1991. All these authors give an account of the social transformations and cultural productions of the Greek Enlightenment.

Moisiodax was a philosopher and teacher who had also studied and lived abroad and developed ideas about political freedom and classical learning. In 1765, the Greek Church appointed him as a headmaster of the Greek Academy in Iasio, Turkey, where he taught in Modern Greek, initiated the translation of Ancient Greek literature into Modern Greek, and taught philosophy with logic instead of mathematics. He also published his work *Treatise on the Education of Children or Pedagogy* and translated the *Filosofia Morale* of Ludovico Antonio Muratori.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars in Egypt (1790-96) greatly influenced the Greek Enlightenment although it was different in scope from the French Enlightenment. These two events had significant influence on the political thought in the Balkans and specifically in Greece. The French Revolution inspired the political ideas of pre- and post- Revolution Greece; With the Greek Enlightenment, liberal aspirations to freedom from the Turkish occupation were born along with purely religious aspirations for an “Authentic Orthodoxy”.²

Some historians however suggest that the Greek intellectual pursuits were not the outcome of foreign influences but rather the outcome of domestic problems; “the bourgeois class is an active player in the ideological and intellectual pursuits in several European countries. However the needs and pursuits correspond each time to the particular social conditions of each place”.³ Those who supported the ruling classes in Greece and abroad were considered by Vournas and Paparrigopoulos as the main causes of an *intellectual obscurantism*, a term used by Vournas in order to emphasise the difference between the French and the Greek Revolution:

“They say that we have French books

but all the books are melancholic!

They say that we are the students of enlightened philosophers and
that all the previous writers were all hypocrites.

In Constantinople many young people were educated rather late
but now from French books that teach atheism will be educated.

² Kitromilidis, Paschalis. *Enlightenment, Nationalism and Orthodoxy, Studies in the Culture and Political thought of South-eastern Europe*, Aldershot and London: Varorium: 1994: 35

And all around French fugitives are responsible for our education...

And these even though they say that they have an intellectual spirit, yet they have no faith in religion, or respect for their parents".⁴

The Greek Enlightenment grew from within the Church and shares the same cultural basis as the Orthodox Church.⁵ Similar examples of the clergy using classical philology during national movements for independence can be found in eighteenth century Serbia and Romania. In 1750 Eugene Voulgaris, a Greek priest and scholar, founded the first "Greek Academy" in Odyso, Turkey where he taught Ancient Greek literature and philosophy.

The Enlightenment in the Balkans and particularly in Greece was also different from France because the Christian idea of readership was perceived as the ideal of a Christian Ecumenical State. The unifying element in the Balkan region was the heritage of classical learning. The survival of classical Greek texts in their place of origin was what in fact separated the Greeks from the rest of the Christian Commonwealth. The relationship between Orthodox learning and ancient learning was the basis for the survival of Greek classics in the East and Mount Athos in Greece.⁶

Theophilos Koridaleas, an Athenian "Neo-Aristotelian"⁷ scholar was instructed by the Church to prepare the curriculum for the Greek schools in Constantinople

³ Vournas, *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*: 35-36

⁴ Kalfoglou 1973: 75, cited in Vournas, *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*: 36

⁵ Kitromilidis, Paschalis. *Enlightenment, Nationalism and Orthodoxy, Studies in the Culture and Political thought of South-eastern Europe*: 56

⁶ Mount Athos is where one of the most important Orthodox monasteries exists. It dates back to the Byzantine Empire and is said to have many treasures and Holy texts from Constantinople along with the first translations of Greek classics.

⁷ Since we cannot engage into a detailed discussion about the development of post-Byzantine philosophy a brief clarification is in order. In the Ottoman period, Orthodox theology was marked by a pervasive Neo-Aristotelianism which introduced a new hermeneutical reading of Aristotle's texts into Orthodox theology. Neo-Aristotelians edited and translated ancient Greek works and surrounded them with the ideas of contemporary Europe. Neo-Aristotelians directed this new process towards the modern Greek society during the fervour of national independence. For the importance of Korydaleas in Orthodox theology see Psimmenos 1988

because of his complete knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy. Another scholar and politician, Adamantios Korais, turned to the Greek classics for teaching. Korais in the late eighteenth century founded the “Hellenic Library” in Constantinople where he kept classical texts and started the *Editions of the Classics*, translated ancient Greek philology.

Although the Greek and Western Enlightenment shared similar goals and ideas, in the Balkans the Church was particularly interested in better trained teachers for schools and focused on classical teachings. Ancient values and teachings were not a threat to the Church as for example was the case in Britain where the classical ideas about the creation of the universe were a threat to the teachings of the Church. The Church promoted classical philology and this is evident not only by the systematic translation of classical texts by Greek scholars but also from the teaching of classical philosophy and philology during the Turkish occupation and well after. The epitome of the relationship between Orthodoxy and classical learning is the 1804 reform of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople. With the new reform the Academy was moved to Bosphorus, away from the Turkish authorities, and appointed Greek scholars who specialised in ancient Greek literature and philosophy, to teach in the Academy.

The Christian Orthodox faith was the unifying factor between the Greek diaspora and the Greeks who lived in occupied Greece; “The operation of faith remains constant as well, articulated with that “relation between the middle and lower classes” which nurtures, in its ambivalence, the hegemonic presence of the Nation. In this sense, faith-in reason or in God, in nature or in the supernatural, in history or in magic-becomes the constitutive operational component of national culture. Faith is what *enlightens* the national path, from the vantage point of the State, and what enlightens the psychic sense of belonging to the community, of imagining it, from the vantage point of the citizen”.⁸ The metaphorical relationship of faith to light is established from the very first theological texts. Castoriadis mentions that Horkheimer and Adorno suggest that the

⁸ Gourgouris, S. *Dream Nation; Enlightenment, Colonisation and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford University Press, California, 1996: 191-192

operation of faith is the operation of the Enlightenment itself.⁹ Hence we could suggest that the Greek Enlightenment was more of a search for a traditional way of life, in which religion, faith in the state, and the nuclear family are important components for social order and the prosperity of the state.

Filiki Etairia, a political brotherhood, was also formed after the neo-Greek Enlightenment. This brotherhood unified the masses and shaped the bourgeois ideology, giving it a political agenda. It was founded in 1814 in Odysso, N. Russia. The main founders and leaders were Nikolaos Skoufas, Emmanuel Xanthos and Athanasios Tsakalof. Even though they did not come from wealthy families, they were actively involved in the political matters of the country. The political agenda of the *Filiki Etairia* was to support both financially and militarily the Greek rebels. Russia as a Christian Orthodox country, supported the Greek War of Independence and offered *Filiki Etairia* a diplomatic office in Russia in order to organise the military operations in mainland Greece. By 1818, the new centre of the organization was Constantinople with the financial help of the Church.

1800-1833

I.2 BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 marked the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. By the end of the fifteenth century, most Greek-speaking territories were subordinated to Ottoman rule. Until the nineteenth century, many Greek territories were under French, Italian and English rule. By the turn of the nineteenth century several Greeks living in northern Europe, inspired by the French Revolution and the ongoing Greek uprisings all over occupied Greece, ignited the struggle for emancipation. In addition, Serbia's successful revolt against the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of a semi-

⁹ Castoriadis, C. *Imaginary Institution of Society* [First edition 1975]. Translated by Kathleen Blamey, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987:176-179. Gourgouris on this point further suggests that in conjunction with the observation of the relationship of light and faith, we should keep in mind the epistemological ramifications of the metaphor of light/vision as an instrument for the creation of identities in the production of images and the determination of time crucial to any national culture. For further suggestions on the relationship of light and faith see Irigary, Lisa *Speculum of the Other Woman* [First edition 1974]. Translated by Gillian Gill, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985: 278-303

autonomous status there in 1817 further encouraged the Greek revolt. While the majority of Greeks supported the preparations for a military revolt, others were suspicious of the conspirators, maintaining that the conditions of Greek life could easily be improved from within the Ottoman Empire. After all, many Greek families, such as the Fanariotes of Constantinople, enjoyed considerable diplomatic, administrative and commercial privileges within the Empire or in Europe. (Pl. 2)

The Greek War of Independence (1821-1830) was motivated by the desire for self-determination, free thought, education and joining the civilised nations of Europe. The Greek movement for independence was an organised effort with certain objectives that were based on Greek intellectual and military activity and on western political intervention. The revolution started in a period when several other liberating movements were taking place around Europe, with France as epicentre. Vournas suggests that “as far as it concerns its ideology, the Greek Revolution of 1821, had as its aim to liberate the country and create an independent state. It was based on the French Revolution by that meaning the bourgeois class on their way to political power... Therefore the motive and the driving force of the Revolution of 1821 in Greece is the social class, its ideology and the historical facts that occurred during their struggle for authority”.¹⁰ In addition, Karavia focuses on the struggle for independence of the rural class and suggests that “the driving force behind the revolution is the previous situation of the Greek economy before the revolution. The Turkish landowners were not interested in their land and those of the Greek people who were able to cultivate their land more freely did not have many rights. The result of this was the minimum efficiency of land ... All this in conjunction with heavy taxation, embezzlement and the continuous looting minimized all financial transactions”.¹¹ Therefore we could suggest that the social classes which had been formed both inland and abroad along with the need for a “religious superiority” of the Orthodox Church over Islam played an important role in the fight for Independence. In the Ottoman Empire the distinction between Muslims and Christians was crucial for the distribution of power. Christians were inferior and had very limited rights.¹² This is why the religious

¹⁰ Vournas, Tassos. *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*, Patakis Publications, 1998: 9, my translation from Greek

¹¹ Karavias, K. *Pagkosmios Istoria (World History)*, Eleutheroudakis Publications, Athens 1972: 782

¹² Mettalinis, G. *Ellhnismos Maxomenos (Fighting Hellenism)*, Tinos: Tinos Publications, 1995

division and differentiation proved decisive not only for the war but also for the role of the Church in the new state.¹³

The Greeks who lived abroad followed the political systems and social hierarchies in several European countries and concentrated a Greek bourgeois class with a political character. Until recently historians focused on the “spontaneous” character of the revolution, with no organised leaders, dispersed in several parts of Greece. “No particular attention was given to the bourgeois class abroad, which included educated people called *Fanariotes*¹⁴, rich merchants and priests. The reason for the creation of the Greek bourgeois class abroad, especially in France, was Turkish Feudalism [a mixture of feudalism and slavery], which did not allow any form of political organisation in mainland Greece”.¹⁵ Many educated Greeks who lived abroad and were involved in the Greek fight, brought with them the political ideas of Ancient Greece and the French Revolution on state autonomy: “The effort that was made to understand and adopt the forms and ideals of a political state, involved the bourgeois class in power, the creation of constitutional rights to allow political transformations, the redistribution of land and the creation of a new class of landowners”.¹⁶

Moreover, the three Russian-Turkish wars (1770-1807) in the Balkan region weakened the Ottoman Empire and prepared the ground for further political and social changes. These wars, even though they did not have the social impact of the French Revolution, still managed to make people believe that change was possible. Hence the ideology of the French Revolution along with the psychological encouragement of the Russian-Turkish Wars created the appropriate social circumstances for a liberating force in the Balkans. At the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth the new social and political circumstances led to the creation of new trading centres in Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest and Jasi. The trading routes of central and Eastern Europe went through Epirus and Macedonia in Greece. Hence the new trading and manufacturing centres that were created in Greece attracted the newly evolving bourgeois class. Slowly,

¹³ Mettalinis, G. *Ellinismos kai Orthodoxia (Hellenism and Orthodoxy)*, Tinos: Tinos Publications, 2000

¹⁴ Fanariotes in modern Greek means “those who hold the light”

¹⁵ Vournas, T. *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*, Patakis Publications, 1998: 9, my translation from Greek

towns were created, the inner markets transformed, and Turkish feudalism subjugated. The centres that were most favoured by the new bourgeoisie were those close to the existing European trading routes.

On the other hand, the continuous Turkish looting soon led to the creation of several rebel parties that lived in the mountains away from the Turkish rule in the urban centres. Farmers whose land was taken by Turkish rulers or looters supported the Greek fight for independence. The rebels and farmers became the military force of the nation. They were perceived as the “fighting spirit” of the revolution that aimed regular and strategic attacks that would weaken the Ottoman Empire. (Pl. 3)

According to Paparrigopoulos,¹⁷ these rebel parties had a political organisation in the form of the leadership (captain-*kapetanios*) with hereditary rights to ruling power, deputy chiefs (who were second in command) and the followers. Most of the rebel parties lived in communities of artists, poets and technicians who all travelled around Greece to support the needs of the revolution. They were supported financially by other rebel parties and by the Fanariotes- the Greek intellectuals abroad: “as time went by this fighting spirit unified the rest of subjugated Greece and became an institution, a real war school for the enslaved Greeks”.¹⁸

The Greek War of Independence broke out on the 25th of March 1821, the Day of Virgin’s Annunciation, in several parts of the Ottoman Empire. The outcome though was successful only in southern Greece (Rumely and the Peloponnesus) and in some islands with greater Greek than Turkish populations. In the period between 1821 and 1824 the Greek fighters, familiar with the rough terrain of their land, managed to take over several Ottoman stations and thwart most attacks. Initially, the European Powers of Britain France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria opposed the Greek revolution as they had also opposed similar revolutions in Spain and Naples in 1820. Due to the prevailing conservative climate, European diplomats were generally inclined to ignore radical

¹⁶ Ibid. *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*:10

¹⁷ Paparrigopoulos, Kostas. *Istoria tou Ellhnikou Ethnous (History of Modern Greece)*, Seferlis Publications, 1955:76-77

¹⁸ Vournas, *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*: 34

movements in order to preserve the fragile post-Napoleonic status quo. Encouraging the demands for national independence was likely to disturb the new political arrangements of power and peace in Europe that were established after years of conflict in 1815. As the struggle continued, however, new factors came into play, leading the European powers to support the Greek revolution.

The reasons for the support of the European powers for the Greek cause was first of all the military success of the Greeks during the first years of the revolution and the apparent tenacity of the fighters, which demonstrated that the revolution was not going to die out soon. In addition, the increasing number of European philhellenes, who embraced the Greek cause, clothed it in romantic references to antiquity, and managed to exert considerable pressure on their governments and stir popular sentiment. Active support for the Greeks was co-ordinated through the various Greek committees in Paris, London, Munich and Vienna. The most important, according to Woodhouse, was in London.¹⁹ More importantly though, as the situation developed, behind the diplomatic support of the European Powers was their desire to maintain influence in the Mediterranean, and have access to their colonies in the East and South. (Pl. 4)

During the early nineteenth century travelling to Greece was common among the French, English and Germans. According to Gourgouris²⁰, the Germans were the most vigorous philologists, the theoreticians of the travelling experience. German philhellenism was a kind of narrative, textual geography. Yiannis Psycharis, a modern Greek poet, (leader of the demoticist movement), notes on German philhellenism; “It is always the archaeologist, always the historian who enters the scene; Never the Hellenist. (They are) passionately interested in Homer, not because of the parting scene between Hector and Andromache but because of Friedrich-August Wolf’s theories on the genesis of epic poetry”.²¹ Contrary perhaps to Germans, the British and French attitude to the travelling gaze emerges as the metaphoric co-existence of the philologist and the

¹⁹ Woodhouse, C.M. *The Philhellenes*, London 1969: 77

²⁰ Gourgouris, S. *Dream Nation; Enlightenment, Colonisation and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford University Press, California, 1996

²¹ Ibid. *Dream Nation*: 137. For a more elaborate discussion of German Hellenists and travel see Constantine 1984. For a comparative assessment of philology among the hegemonic European Powers see Said 1983

egocentric traveller. This co-existence is fundamental to Philhellenism and its most distinct expression would have to be Lord Byron. Byron experienced the diverse Greek landscape occupied by Ottomans, Greeks and Albanians and was mesmerised by the classical antiquities and the co-existence of the old with the new. Inevitably he became a Philhellene. In a psychoanalytic sense we could say that Byron now becomes the object of his gaze; he falls right into his own field of vision. His transgression of the boundaries of the traveller's gaze can be found in his description of Greece in his notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), where he provides the most elaborate illustration of colonialist indecisiveness:

"The Greeks will never be independent; they will never be sovereign as heretofore, and God forbid they ever should! But they may be subjects without being slaves. Our colonies are not independent, but they are free and industrious, and as such may be Greece thereafter."²²

Where is the human being that ever conferred a benefit on a Greek or Greeks? They are to be grateful to the Turks for their fetters, and the Franks for their broken promises and lying counsels: they are to be grateful to the artist who engraves their ruins, and to the antiquarian who carries them away; to the traveller whose janissary flogs them, and to the scribbler whose journal abuses them! This is the amount of their (Greek) obligation to foreigners...But instead of considering what they have been, and speculating on what they may be, let us look at them as they are.²³

[...]

Ancient history and modern politics instruct us that something more than physical perfection is necessary to preserve a state in vigour and independence, and the Greeks, in particular, are a melancholic example of the near connection between moral degradation and national decay".²⁴

²² Byron, George Gordon. *The Oxford Authors*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986:95

²³ Byron *The Oxford Authors*: 95-96. Byron first travelled to Greece in 1809. He visited Greece again in 1812

²⁴ Ibid. *The Oxford Authors*: 100

Lord Byron's accounts of his ambivalent relationship with the culture of the Greeks leads to the dissolution of boundaries between the tourist gaze and the culture he experiences. His death in Messolonghi in 1824 is another example of this dissolution, as Byron did not choose to be a tourist spectator of a different culture but chose to make this different culture his new home. The narratives of Byron represent a great expression of philhellenic imaginary. In his exotic terrain, Byron privileges the image of Greece and although fantastic eventually becomes modern. His ideas about a modern independent Greek state eventually became real. Through the interplay of irony and factual narration Byron manages to express an unbounded commitment to Neohellenic modernity, to a conception of Greek culture as a Modern Greek culture. This commitment stems from the first writings of Humboldt and Winckelmann, in which Hellenism was seen as an *autoscopie* discourse. Greece is perceived as the modern Orient, as the relation between exoticism, Orientalism²⁵ and the travel gaze. There is no doubt that the Western perception of the Neo-Greek identity, which was invoked by the involvement of the European powers in the Greek fight for Independence and the subsequent formation of the Greek State, played an active role in the creation of Neohellenic sentiment. Hence this system of representation set the foundations for the proclamation of *Greekness* or *Hellenism*; the projected (perhaps ideal) self-image and the possession of a unique idiom. This unique idiom, as we will see later on in detail, was not the Western obsession with ancestral purity of the Neohellenes but the acceptance of ancient and contemporary customs and traditions many of which relied on both ancient Greece and Byzantium.

Two major events changed the course of the Greek revolution by 1825. First the ruler of Egypt, Mohammed (Mehmet) Ali, decided to assist Sultan Mahmud II in putting down the uprising in exchange for Crete and Peloponnesus for himself and his son. With massive forces, his son Ibrahim invaded Peloponnesus from the sea and conducted a devastating campaign on land. The Ottoman army then succeeded in conquering Messolonghi and Athens by 1827. It became obvious that unless the European powers took an active role, the Greek War of Independence would probably fail. Hence, France,

²⁵ Gourgouris suggests that Philhellenic Orientalism engages in the like the activity of representing the *other* culture, which in effect means replacing the other culture with those self-generated, projected images of otherness the West needs to see itself in. Gourgouris, Stathis. *Dream Nation*, Stanford University Press, 1996: 140

Britain and Russia signed the treaty of London in July 1827, which established the creation of an autonomous, Greek state under the auspices of the Sultan.²⁶ Greeks agreed to the mediation of Europe. In the Third National Assembly in Troizena in 1827,²⁷ they elected Ioannis Kapodistrias to be the first governor of Greece for a seven year-term. Kapodistrias was a Greek from Corfu who had acted as a Greek diplomat in the Russian court.²⁸ Meanwhile, Britain, France and Russia instructed their fleets in the Mediterranean to impose an armistice. The Sultan denied his consent and the navy of the Triple Alliance (France, England, Russia) attacked the Egypto-Ottoman fleet in the battle of Navarino on 8/20 October 1827. Having won the battle, the Triple Alliance became the arbiters of the Greek political destiny.

I.2a Political Parties

During the years of the revolution three main political parties were created in Greece. The first was the socio-democratic party, which represented the working classes comprised of poor farmers, officers and priests. The second party was the conservative party, which supported the Revolution in order to attract political and economic power from the Turks, but was afraid to be actively involved in case it lost its own political autonomy. This movement was supported by the upper working classes. The third party was the reactionary party which did not support the revolution and believed in feudalism. Wealthy farmers and tradesmen were attracted to this party.

On the 20th of October 1820 the socio-democratic party decided to start the revolution from Moria in Peloponnesus. The plan was to attract supporters from the Russian Army and declare war against the Turks. Despite their plans however, Russia was not able to help as Turkey found out about their agreement with Greece and defeated them. Despite these unfavourable circumstances, the Revolution took place in 1821, starting from Macedonia, Thessaly and Athens, Peloponnesus and the islands.

²⁶ Clogg, Richard. *A Short History of Modern Greece*, Cambridge University Press, 1979:63-4

²⁷ *Istoria tou Ellhnikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation)*, Athens: Ekdotiki Athenon 1977, vol. 12, 438

²⁸ For further information on the background and political activity of Kapodistrias see Petropoulos, John Anthony. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, Princeton University Press 1968: 107, 124-5

I.2b The rule of the first governor Ioannis Kapodistrias

Ioannis Kapodistrias was a diplomat in the Russian court. He arrived in Greece in January 1828 and undertook the leadership of the country during the last phase of the War of Independence. The struggle finally came to an end in February 1830 with the signing of the London Protocol. Britain, France and Russia guaranteed the recognition of an independent Greek nation. When Kapodistrias arrived in Greece, Peloponnesus was the only independent part of Greece. Athens and most other towns were still under Ottoman rule. Kapodistrias was determined to improve the conditions of Greece. He laid the foundations for a national army, an administrative centre, and an educational system. He also undertook the economic restructuring of over twenty-two towns, nine of which were completed during his brief rule. Kapodistrias however, gathered all political power under his jurisdiction and in the hands of his immediate family. He distrusted the local politicians and fighters, who had traditionally held power in the Greek community and attempted to deprive them of their status. He also disregarded the liberal constitution that was drafted by the Third National Assembly in Troizena, convinced that only a strong, authoritarian rule could help expand Greece's territories and gain internal stability. His unwillingness to compromise with his enemies and listen to the opinions of the others brought about his tragic death in September 27/9 October 1831 when he was assassinated on his way to Church by his political rivals.²⁹

²⁹ For further information on Kapodistrias' rule see *Grèce: Situation politique*, Août 1837, Intérieur (Athens, 1837) in the Gennadius Library, Athens

1833-1862

I.3 DOMESTIC POLICY

I.3a Events

The establishment of the Greek state in 1833 was a turning point in the history of the Balkan region as only multinational empires had existed until then. Modern Greece was a state that considered itself, from the very beginning, a precursor of a greater territorial state that would extend across the Greek-occupied areas of the Ottoman Europe and Asia Minor. At the same time, however, nineteenth century Greece was a modern state that was trying to fit into the greater European environment. France, Britain, Russia, Bavaria and Prussia, as the great economic powers of Europe were interested in the rebuilding of Greece for different political reasons. Greece's geography attracted much interest from those who wanted easy access to their colonies in the East. On the other hand, by controlling and interfering with Greece's national politics, France and Britain, could control Russia's access to the Mediterranean and hence control the trading market. *Westernizing* Greece, however, was not an easy task as Greece was divided at the time into different independent political centres. These local political centres would have to be eradicated as it was imperative to create a central power as the only legitimate source of political control. In addition in post-Independence Greece there were strong political and social elites that demanded prominent representation in the new political hierarchy.

From the first constitution in 1840 until the end of the nineteenth century, the traditional political parties had become part of the modern political system. From then on the negotiation of power, the type of regime and the limits of royal intervention in Greek politics monopolized domestic political interests.

I.3b Otto's Kingship

On the 25th of April/ 7th of May 1832 the European powers signed a treaty by which they agreed on the geographical borders of Greece. France, Britain, Prussia and Denmark agreed to appoint the youngest son of King Ludwig, the King of Bavaria, as the new King of Greece. (Pl. 5)

On the 25th of January 1833 Otto arrived in Greece with the members of his regency and the royal suite. (Pl. 6) Otto's appointment to the throne came with a loan of 60.000 French francs and 3.500 German soldiers for the safekeeping of Greece. "In a very difficult moment for Greece after the War of Independence in 1821, Otto 'as a monarch appointed by God' ruled the Greek people as an instrument of foreign politics satisfying each time the interests of the Great Powers. Otto had the "charisma" which the European forces needed to take over the throne, while they would be in the background exercising their control in the new state with their agents, as they did".³⁰ For this reason the king had to be from an aristocratic class, under the rule of the European powers, with no particular moral, political or intellectual merits. This way, the European Powers were able to control the New Greek state, have a safe passage to their colonies in the East and Africa, and control the trade in the Mediterranean.

During the first decade, the domestic policy of the new born state is characterized by an attempt to reduce the power of local elites, which had formed strong political parties that attracted increasing public support. These parties were the *pro-French*, *pro-Russian* and *pro-British*. Each party was connected to the respective foreign power. Local politicians associated themselves with different protectors in order to pursue their own goals and personal agendas. Despite their differences, all the political parties were against Otto's rule. Their primary targets were his failure to create a constitution and his control over the Greek Orthodox Church despite the fact that he had remained a Catholic. Otto's policy of creating political and social tensions within these parties revealed the intentions of the crown towards any party that favoured the political changes. The general dissatisfaction with the political and social state of affairs, aggravated by the poor financial conditions, led to an organised revolt on 3/15 September 1843, with troops and a large crowd demonstrating in front of the palace. A contemporary Athenian witness writes of the Revolution of the 3rd of September, as it came to be known, "The primary purpose of the demonstration was to remove the Bavarians from the government positions. Then with the encouragement of some of our intellectuals and our professors,

³⁰ Ibid. *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*: 236

we called out: “We want a constitution!”³¹ Under public pressure Otto consented to meet the demands of the revolt and appointed a provisional Greek government and a national assembly to frame the constitution.

After lengthy discussions, a delegation of twenty-one member-representatives of the three parties prepared a constitution, which was approved by Otto and went into effect in May 1844. It provided for a bicameral assembly with an elected lower house (*voule*) and a senate (*gerousia*) appointed for life by the king. Greeks were eligible for these positions. Even though the King had to share legislative power with the lower house and the senate, he alone was authorised to appoint and dismiss ministers and judges and to dissolve the parliament.³² The constitution declared Orthodoxy as the state religion and declared that the successor to the throne had to be Christian Orthodox. Vournas mentions that Otto, who at the time had married Amalia of Oldenburg, was unable to father a successor to the throne. Otto’s reign was stable with the exclusion of a three-year governance period by Ioannis Kolettis (1843-1847) and the so-called Occupation Ministry.

Most of the planning and architecture projects in Greece were initiated during Otto’s reign. Among them were the new plans for Athens, the monumental buildings of Athens, and plans for forty new towns outside Athens. As we will see further on in the thesis these buildings were not only used to mask Otto’s troubled regime but also to make the Greeks believe that Otto was in fact a divine king as he was the only Christian King in the East at the time. However by 1860 the drain on public funds, the ever growing economic problems, and the lack of social stability led to a series of social upheavals opposing Otto’s reign. There was a widespread belief especially among the Greeks of mainland Greece, that the existing system impeded the country’s progress and sustained a corrupt public administration. The crisis culminated at the beginning of the 1860s and in the beginning of 1862 an organised revolt broke out which spread quickly to different parts of Greece. Otto, faced with a widespread and unyielding uprising, and without the

³¹ Senior, William, N. *La Turquie contemporaine*, Paris, 1861:243, and Iakovatos, G. *Logoi (Speeches) of 3 December 1880*:363, both cited in Dimaras, C. Th. *Hellenikos romantismos (Greek romanticism)*, Athens: Hermes, 1982:359

³² Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 75

military support of Europe, was advised to abandon the throne. Hence, on the 12/24 October 1862, Otto and Amalia boarded the English ship *Scylla* and returned to Bavaria.

I.3c The first government

The first government of the Greek Kingdom was appointed in April 1833. It was constituted of the most fervent representatives of the pro-British party with their leader Ioannis Kolettis. Public disappointment at the exclusion of the other parties, which was expressed in the press, led the new King to appoint a new ministerial formation with more members from the pro-French movement. In 1834, however, following the crisis in the relations of the government and the King, Otto was declared the sole monarch of the state. Imposing his political autocracy, Otto forced the leading social groups out of politics.

Despite Otto's decision to exclude them from any political decision-making, all the parties gradually re-gained power and acquired strong supports among the peasantry. By promoting the slogan of the defence of Orthodoxy and Christian beliefs, they attracted many supporters from the country. On 15th of September 1843 a new government was formed by the leaders of the pro-French party and the first Constitution of the Modern Greek state was published in the Government Gazette. After a four month electoral period, a first elected parliament was formed in January 1845 and appointed Ioannis Kolettis as the prime minister. Kolettis formed a government with allies from the pro-Russian party. This alliance lasted only a few months as there was strong opposition from the other parties. However Kolettis' government lasted until his death in 1847. Kolettis' successful government was due to the constant support of the crown and the European Powers, especially France, but also depended on a network of powerful regional patrons, most of which were military officers located in strategic geographical points across Greece. Apart from his excellent networking, Kolettis was highly respected among the Greek people, as the leading supporter of the Megali Idea (Great Idea). In addition, his ability to maintain social stability and to handle successfully crises and tensions, maintained his excellent social profile. The period of 1844-1847 was marked by governmental stability, followed however, by institutional immobility. No significant

progress was made in the production of legislation. The bills proposed were very few and reveal the basic concern of maintaining stability between the west which continued to interfere in Greek politics and an intensely traditional society. Moreover, there was a crisis in the autonomy of the Church from state control. Kolettis' reaction was to dissolve the Parliament and call for elections. In these elections he was again the winner, but died shortly after 1847.

From the death of Kolettis in 1847 until 1854, the governments were composed of members from the pro-French and pro-Russian parties. The favour of the palace towards the pro-French and pro-Russian parties was related to the common religion of Russia and Greece.

1.3d The Megali Idea (Great Idea)

The *Megali Idea* first appeared in 1844 in a speech by Ioannis Kolettis³³ to the Parliament. Since then and for the whole of the nineteenth century it constituted the driving ideological imputer of the young state. The Great Idea envisioned a Modern Greek state that would reclaim the territories occupied by the Turks and would stretch from Greece to Bosphorus. It unified the split within Greek society and created a national identity. The notion of the Great Idea was understood as “national completion” and was organized around two axes.

First, it promoted the idea of a general political command that aimed at the political and geographical unification of the Greek population inland and abroad so that all Greeks could be included in the new state. The Byzantine Empire was the territorial model for the expansion of the Greek state. Irredentism³⁴, was regarded as legitimate in the field of international relations for the success of the expansionist policy. On the other hand, by supporting the Great Idea, Modern Greeks were also supporting the European

³³ The speech of Ioannis Kolettis can be found in Appendix A. It is also cited in Kyriakidis, Georgios. *Istoria tou Synchronou Ellinismou (History of Hellenism) 1832-1892*, Igglei Publications, Athens, 1892:494-500

³⁴ Irredentism is the ideology of liberating the unredeemed people of the same nationality.

idea of *civilizing the East*. The idea of *civilizing* nations is indicative of the European obsession with Greek antiquity.

The second axis around which the Great Idea was created was the general and simultaneous demand for national unity, which appeared as a condition for public support of the political command. If the Great Idea was to be realized, the united Greeks, now called Hellenes³⁵, would appear as successors of ancient Greece. Paparrigopoulos³⁶ suggests on this point that Byzantium was the link between Ancient and Modern Greeks, at a time when Europe questioned the racial continuity of Greeks.

The Great Idea was the unifying factor of the Modern Greek society for the whole of the nineteenth century and especially when the Balkan region became politically unstable. King Otto used the Great Idea to deflect social dissatisfaction and criticism. He tried to show respect for the religious sentiment of Modern Greeks by restoring Byzantine Churches and by including religion in the education curriculum. He also tried to win public support by promoting nationalist anti-Turkish views and supporting the union of Crete with the rest of Greece. Otto's efforts to get public support were also evident in the Russian-Ottoman War in 1854, when guerrilla bands infiltrated parts of the Ottoman Empire. Otto's expansionist vision came up against the explicit British and French policies that defended the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and turned against the Russian involvement. The European Powers did not want a break in Turkish-European relationships and thus when Otto supported the Greek efforts to liberate more parts of Greece from the Ottomans, Napoleon III notified Otto that an attack on the Ottoman

³⁵ Throughout the extensive Greek bibliography there is no apparent distinction between the term Hellenas and Greek. Hellenas in this thesis is used to describe the people who have the same cultural and Orthodox Christian values and whose ancestry is in Greece. The term is used for both immigrants and locals. In Latin literature, *Graeci* (or *Greeks*, in English) is the name by which Hellenes are known. Thus the name Hellenes comes before Greeks. Modern Greeks in order to find their true origins went back to the first name of Greece "Hellas" and founded the "Hellenic Republic". Aristotle and Apollodorus first write about *Graeci*, who seem to be the same people as Selle from Epirus. The name becomes known to Latins with the colonization of Italy from Greek settlers. While Greeks call themselves Hellenes, the Romans begin to call them *Graeci*, the name of the specific Greek colonists. In the Byzantine Empire "Greeks" came to mean "worshippers of the Greek gods" or pagans. This is why it was considered inappropriate to describe the people of the Byzantine Empire who had deep roots in Christianity. The Modern Greeks began to call themselves Hellenes again and to think of themselves as a "genos" (one race), or "Orthodox nation".

³⁶ For further references see Paparrigopoulos, K. *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation)* Seferlis Publications, second edition 1955:17-23

Empire would be interpreted as an attack on France. To make sure that Otto and the Greeks would not continue their fights against the Turkish, the French and British decided to join forces and occupied the port of Piraeus from May 1854 until April 1857 obliging Greece to follow a policy of complete neutrality.³⁷ This act, although it helped to bring the Greeks closer to Otto, shattered the Greeks' belief in continuing European support and also marked the end of European romantic philhellenism.

Who is a Greek citizen?

One of the most controversial issues that the National Assembly had to deal with was the definition of who was a Greek citizen. As only Greek citizens were eligible for government posts, then how was citizenship defined? The debate over Greek citizenship revealed the deep-seated tensions between the autochthon and heterochthon Greeks. Heterochthon Greeks were those Greeks who had lived most of their lives in the West, had been educated abroad and had not taken part in the Revolution. The Greeks of mainland Greece, called autochthon, saw these people as enjoying the fruits of their struggle and sacrifice. Also, many of the criticisms that were directed against the Bavarians, were also directed against the heterochthon Greeks themselves. Most of these criticisms were about the limited knowledge among the heterochthon of local problems and traditions, a disregard for prevailing customs, their privileged governmental and civic positions, their political influence both in Greece and abroad, and their relative wealth. After extensive debates in the Assembly, it was decided that "autochthons" would be defined as people who had fought against the Ottomans in different parts of Greece and had established permanent residency since 1827, and those who were natives of their land.³⁸ "All others were to be removed from public office, though this did not apply to the army and navy, consular service, or teaching profession. Non-combatants who migrated to Greece from 1827-32 would become eligible for public office after two years, those from 1832-7 after three years, and those from 1837-43 after four years".³⁹ The result of the new constitution and the new definition of "autochthon" and "heterochthon" were to remove the majority of the Bavarians from public office and gave the opportunity for

³⁷ Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 80

³⁸ Ibid. *Modern Greece*, 77-78

native Greeks to gain key posts in the new administration. Ioannis Kolettis, a heterochthon Vlach, from the northern part of Modern Greece, who had been educated in Italy and had served as a Greek minister in Paris, made an appeal for the grandeur of Hellenism and appealed to Greeks to bridge the division between the autochthons and heterochthon;

“In the spirit of our oath and of this great idea, I have seen the delegates of the nation assembling to deliberate not simply on the fate of Greece, but of the Greek race... (We) have been led astray from the great idea of the fatherland, which we first expressed in the song of Rhigas. United in one spirit, all of us who bore the Greek name (Hellenes), realised a part of the whole goal; and now we are occupying ourselves with pointless distinctions between Greeks, Christians and non-Christians....

Each one of us has in himself the idea of his glorious Greek descent; each one of you appreciates that this Assembly is convening in Athens, whose splendour, grandeur, and inimitable achievements have been admired throughout the centuries and are still admired. Athens, and the rest of Greece, divided in the past in particular states, fell, and through her downfall she enlightened the world.. One wonders what hopes Greece provides today, reborn and united in one state, in one destination, one power, in one religion, and, finally in one Constitution, which we are now bringing about”.⁴⁰

In later decades, Kolletis’ speech was remembered for the references to the Great Idea and was used to define the uniqueness of the Greek race.⁴¹ It defined the desire to realise the Great Idea and liberate the rest of the Greeks from the Ottoman Empire. The speech encapsulated the hopes of the nation for a unified state, with Constantinople as the ideal

³⁹ Petropoulos, *Politics*, 491

⁴⁰ The complete text of his speech appears in *He tis Triths Septemvriou en Athinais Ellhnike Synelefsis, Praktika (The National Assembly of the Third September in Athens, Proceedings)*, Athens 1844, 190-4. All information are given after permission from the State Archives and the Parliament House Special Collections Library

⁴¹ Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, 361

capital, where the cradle of Byzantine civilisation, Hagia Sophia, stands.⁴² Constantinople for the Greeks was the religious capital of the state and Athens the cultural capital.

I.4 THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE MODERN GREEK STATE

The Orthodox religion was the unifying factor of the Greek population during the years of the Ottoman rule. (Pl. 7) For four centuries the Greeks perceived their Orthodox religion as their most articulate and continuous cultural heritage. Until the constitution of the Modern Greek state, however, the Greek Orthodox Church administered by the Patriarchate of Constantinople covered and protected a broad multi-ethnic community comprised of Serbians, Bulgarians, Romanians and Russians. While the religious sentiment of the Greek people did not change in the years following Greek Independence, the political role of the Church changed. The Greek Church was separated from the Patriarchate of Constantinople and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Greek State. King Otto followed the model of Bavaria, where Catholic and Protestant Churches were subject to the state.⁴³ Immediately after the Bavarians took control over Greece, the Regent, Ludwig von Maurer, instituted new rules. On 15th July 1833, shortly after Otto's appointment to the Greek throne, he called for a synod to approve the new regulations issued by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction. Frazee notes on this point that "after eleven centuries of unity, the Church of Greece had taken the momentous step of officially separating itself from the Patriarchate of Constantinople in less than seven hours...Now autocephalous, the Greek Church was treated as a department of the State and subordinate to it, its bishopric regions redrawn to conform with the new prefectures".⁴⁴ Many westernised Greeks harboured anticlerical sentiments and supported these changes. However, the majority of the Greek population in mainland Greece remained attached to the Orthodox Church and opposed the dissolution of monasteries and the nationalization of monastic properties. In fact Alexandros Soutsos

⁴² Petropoulos, *Politics*, 347

⁴³ Frazee gives a very good account of the role of the Protestant and Catholic Churches in Bavaria and the power of the state to control administrative rules within the Churches. Frazee, Charles A. *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece, 1821-1852*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1969

⁴⁴ Frazee, *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece*, 109-114

noted that by 1836 religiosity gained vigorously in popularity.⁴⁵ The State tried to win public votes by supporting traditional attachments to Orthodoxy. New connections were forged with Byzantium as it evoked a sense of unity that was absent in the classical world. Therefore we could suggest that the association between Byzantium and the monarchy could lend legitimacy to the throne. Bastea suggests that many national slogans overlapped with pro-religion slogans. While suppressing the former independence of the Church, the state also aimed at creating a unified national-religious front by introducing greater public participation in religious observances. This criss-crossing between the official religious and civic life in Greece was evident in the introduction of compulsory prayers in schools in 1836 and the designation, in 1838, of the Virgin's Annunciation as a national holiday. In addition, as already noted, the official outbreak of the War of Independence was symbolically set on the 25th of March 1821, the day of Annunciation. In 1857 the state instituted compulsory student church attendance on Sundays while in 1874 there was a move to establish priests as elementary school teachers. Emmanuel Roides suggests that by 1879 there was a complete identification of church-state, the nation becoming the guardian of religion and vice versa.⁴⁶ In addition Levides a Greek politician proclaimed in 1870 "Is it possible for religion to exist without the nation (ethnos)?...Rare if not impossible".⁴⁷ This position, which reflected the Western European conception of the nation, coexisted with the reality of the Ottoman period. As Iakovatos wrote in 1864 "without religion there is no nationalism....and if they took religion out of the nationality (ethnoteta) of the Hellenes, I would see nothing else but Franks, Albanians, Vlachs, Gypsies, but never Hellenes".⁴⁸ Despite the State's extensive control over ecclesiastical affairs, the majority of the population continued to adhere to its traditional religious beliefs while also participating in the new civic ceremonies. These overlapping circumstances are noted by Jean Alexandre Buchon's travel accounts in 1843. Buchon questioned a peasant about the economic implications of the numerous religious feast days in the poor country. The peasant argued that if the large number of

⁴⁵ Soutsos, Alexander, *Hellenike plastigx (Greek Scape)*, Athens 1836, 86, cited in Dimaras, *Hellenikos romantismos*, 389

⁴⁶ Roides, Emmanuel. *Apanta (Complete Works)*, Athens: Hermes, 1978: vol. 3 :23, cited in Scopetea, *Prototypo Vasileio*, 133

⁴⁷ Levides, N.D. *Engyklios tou patriarchou Gregorion, (Encyclical of Patriarch Gregorius)*, Illisos Journal, vol. 3 no.4 (30 June 1870), cited in Scopetea, *Prototypo Vasileio*, 123

⁴⁸ Iakovatos, Typaldos, 18 August 1864, *Episemos Ephemeris tis Synelefseos* (official newspaper of the Assembly), 1, 304-4, cited in Scopetea, *Prototypo Vasileio*, 123

religious holidays were a problem, then the government should not have added new civic holidays like the King's arrival in Athens. Although he liked his King very much "he also esteemed very much St. Athanasios and was not going to refuse the homage that his family had always accorded to the saint".⁴⁹

The close relationship between religion and Greek identity can be found in the following passage in Pandora Magazine in 1852:

"To religion we owe the feeling of nationalism and our political independence; the actions based on religious beliefs have always been to our benefit (..)Religion has been the anchorage that saved us during troubled times and storms".⁵⁰

Ellie Scopetea also suggests that religion was a very important factor during and after the Greek Independence; "the Greek nation was a guardian of religion in the same way as religion was the guardian of a national Greek identity".⁵¹ (Pl. 8)

The inextricable relationship of religion with nationalism refers to the Western idea of religion as the basis of nationalism. The idea of ethnic purity and lineage refers more to the Ottoman and post-Independence Greek idea and the role of religion as the guardian of tradition in a nation. In order to understand the dynamics of religion and nationalism in the modern Greek state we should first address the question of the role of priests in pre and post revolution Greece, their participation in the fight for independence and the role of the church in the creation of the new state.

I.4a To co-exist or resist?

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there were two political movements in mainland Greece and abroad; those who wanted to compromise with the new situation of Turkish hegemony and those who wanted to resist the new regime. Those who opposed the West and were not in favour of a united European state were those who wanted to compromise with the new situation. The ones who were in favour of Western interference

⁴⁹ Buchon, Jean Alexander, *La Grece continentale et la Moree*, Paris 1843:367, cited in Petropoulos, John Anthony. *Politics and Statecraft in the kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, Princeton University Press, 1968:192

⁵⁰ Pandora Magazine, vol. C, no: 65, 1.12.1852 :401

⁵¹ Scopetea, E. *Prototipo Vasileio kai h Megali Idea (Model Kingdom and the Great Idea)*, Athens 1988: 123

and wanted to see a united Greek nation were opposing the Turkish regime and the new political situation. The two parties were created in 1054, when political differences between the eastern and western portions of the Roman Empire, different theological traditions, and various matters of worship and pastoral practice contributed to a formal breach between East and West.⁵² The majority of the Greeks were against Western interference following the 1204 crusades and the Western imposition on Christian Orthodox religious traditions.⁵³ Politicians and Greek intellectuals who lived abroad were mainly in favour of the West and the Western political customs. The interweaving of religion and politics pre-dates the Greek fight for Independence. The anti-Western ideology focused on the belief that the Franks were a greater danger to the Greek ideal and tradition than the Ottomans. In the eighteenth century Kosmas 'O Aitolos, a Greek priest who took part in the Greek fight for Independence, elucidates this point;

“Why God did not bring another King to us who have so much wealth? He only chose to bring a Turk from the Tree of Sins and gave it to him. He (God) knew that all other Kings harm our religious faith, whereas the Turk does not. Give him (to the Turk) money and ride him like a horse. God in order to save us from sin, gave to him (the Turk) money and wealth to guard us like a dog”.⁵⁴

⁵² In that year eastern leaders suppressed Latin customs in the East and Latin leaders suppressed Greek customs in the West. Pope Leo IX exacerbated the conflict by declining to use the title “Ecumenical Patriarch” for the Patriarch of Constantinople and by insisting on use of the filioque clause in the Nicene Creed. Patriarch and Pope then exchanged excommunications. Negotiations to heal the schism continued through the fifteenth century, but failed. East and West remain separated to the present, but in 1965 Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras nullified the condemnations or anathemas of 1054.

The eastern churches use the oldest and original form of the Nicene Creed. The western churches add the phrase “and the Son” to the profession of the first sentence of the third article of the creed: “We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son”. This interpolation, the so-called *filioque* clause (from the Latin for “and the Son”), was intended by its western originators to express the fullness of the doctrine of the Trinity.

The first Nicene Creed was issued by the Council of Nicea I (325) to settle the Arian controversy. It emphasized that Jesus Christ was of one substance (*homoousios*) with the Father. A longer and fuller statement summarizing the Christian confession may have been adopted at the Council of Constantinople I (381) but was probably composed elsewhere and later. This is the creed commonly called the “Nicene Creed” in the present. It is the most widely used of all early Christian symbols. The western churches add the so-called *filioque* clause to the third article.

⁵³ In 1204 the 4th Crusade against Greek Orthodoxy took place.

⁵⁴ Translation from Greek. Menounou, I. *Kosma tou Aitolou Didaxes (The Teachings of Kosma Aitolou)*, Athens 1979:269-270

Based on the religious battle of 1204, when the Franks wanted to change the religious ceremonies and calendar of the Orthodox Church, the Greeks believed that the Turks even though of different religion did not pose a threat to their Christian faith like the Franks (West) did. At this point, it is important to remember that indeed in 1524 the Catholic Church announced the Pope as part of the Holy Trinity and denounced the Julian calendar.⁵⁵

For the Greeks the West was associated with the Catholic Church and the Pope. Declaring the Pope as part of the Holy Trinity was a great offence to the religious beliefs of the Eastern Orthodox Church⁵⁶ who followed the doctrines and traditions of the Byzantium. The Greeks ever since the Great Schism of 1054 neither adhered to the Pope nor followed the Gregorian calendar. In fact it was much later in the Greek Schism of 1924 when the Greek Church was divided into those following the new Gregorian calendar and those following the old Julian calendar.

The French explorer Malherbe describes the dynamics of the Christian faith for the Greeks when he notes to General Makriyianni: “There is one thing that will harm you, your religion, because it is so deep imprinted in the Greek soul and identity”.⁵⁷ Despite the different ideologies of the two parties, however, both contributed to the guarding of the Greek identity and the preparation for independence from the Turks. According to Steven Runciman, those who were against western intervention managed to “safeguard

⁵⁵ The Julian calendar was devised because the mean year was a little too long causing the vernal equinox slowly to drift earlier in the calendar year. Thus in 1582 Pope Gregorius XIII created the new Gregorian calendar by mainly adding thirteen days to the old Julian calendar.

⁵⁶ Eastern Orthodoxy or Eastern Orthodox Christianity comprises primarily the Christian traditions that developed within the Byzantium. Eastern Orthodox Christianity refers to a specific group of Christian church jurisdictions that accept the first seven Ecumenical Councils and share full communion and specific doctrines and traditions, historically reaching back to and continuing to the modern day communion among the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople. The Eastern Orthodox church uses a Greek liturgy, including the Orthodox Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Cyprus. These churches are members of the Eastern Orthodox Communion and therefore in full communion with each other. Greek Orthodox churches in the Americas and Australia are subject to the Constantinopolitan hierarchy. These should not be confused with the Orthodox Church in America, which is one of the 16 autocephalous Eastern Orthodox churches, having been granted autocephaly in 1970 by the Patriarch of Moscow.

⁵⁷ Bayron (eds) *Ta Apomnhmoneumata tou Strathgou Makriyianni (Memoirs of General Makriyianni)* :415

the integrity of the Greek Church and along with it the integrity of the Greek people”.⁵⁸ From 1453 the politics of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was to build good relations with the Turkish rule and not to provoke. This prevented the destruction of some Byzantine churches, especially outside Athens, and prepared the ground for the revival of a Byzantine state within the Ottoman Empire. The goal of the Greek Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople was not so much political independence from the Turks as religious freedom and gradual autonomy of the Church. Despite the eventual attacks against Greek Orthodox priests, the Greek Patriarchate encouraged involvement in Turkish politics in order to establish key relationships with Turkish politicians. In addition as a fellow Orthodox state, the Greek Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople supported financially the Armenians’ fight for independence in an effort to fight Turkey from within. This tactic led to the uprising of the Neo-Turks in 1908 and their demand to abolish the right of Armenians and Greeks to exercise their religious rights.

The decision of the Patriarchate to establish good relations with Turkish officials allowed the creation of some unofficial Greek local authorities. Since the sixteenth and seventeenth century the Greek Church was trying to incite Greeks to fight for their political independence and openly supported other Christian states and their fights for independence from the Turks. An example of this can be found in sixteenth century Russia when a Greek Orthodox monk, Maximus O Graikos (Maximus the Greek) supported the Russian fight for Independence financially and through the writing of pamphlets. The involvement of the Church in the Greek fight for independence is also evident during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More than seventy upheavals took place during the 400 years of Ottoman rule, some of which were:

The fight of Crete and Peloponnesus after the fall of Constantinople in 1453

The Rhodes uprising (1524-29)

The Eptanesa War (1463-1479)

The uprising of the Heimariotes (1570)

The upheaval of Cyprus (beginning of the 17th century)

⁵⁸ Runsiman, S. *The Great Church in Captivity; A study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge University Press, 1968 translated by

The uprising in parts of Epeiros led by Archbishop Nektarios and Athanasios (beginning of the 17th century)

The uprising of Naxos (1641)

Cretan War (1645-1669)

The uprising of Thessaly led by Archbishop Methodios and Serafim (1704)

The uprising of the Souliotes (1800-1804)

Orthodox priests and religious symbols became the banners in the fight for independence. Before every fight priests were asked to bless the fight and military leaders carried Christian crosses tied to their swords. The political manifesto of Troizina in 1827 openly proclaimed the role of religion in the Greek fight for independence;

“To all those who believe in Christ,

As Christians we cannot live under the rule of Muslims that destroy and disrespect our Holy Icons, demolish our Holy Churches, disregard the clergy, profane the name of Christ, His Holy Cross and forced us either to die horrible deaths as Christians or live denouncing the name of Christ and becoming Muslims. We are fighting the enemies of our Lord and we will never become one with them. As Hellenes, becoming a Greek nation, we will never forget our identity, our heritage and the great men that we originate from, our soul. The masterpieces of their [ancient Greeks] wisdom, their great achievements, the ruins of Greece, the graves of our ancestors, will remind us forever of their nobility and our miserable life. ..We are fighting those who take, the occupier, the illegal, the cruel tyrant; and we are fighting defending ourselves against them [Turkish rule] who dashed at us in an effort to cut us in half, to exterminate our nation, grab our wealth and drag and dishonour our dear girls and children; so we are forced by the laws of nature to defend with arms our existence and fight violence with violence, swearing in front of the sky and earth to either die or live free...Our war is not offensive, it is defensive, it is a just war against injustice, of the Christian Orthodox religion against the Koran, of the rational man against the

irrational and fierce tyrant. Because we want to live or die free, we are placing all our hopes to our just God and appeal to the hearts of the powerful of Europe and of the Filiki Etairia and we declare our Independence in front of the Higher Spirit and we protest, to the impartial judgement of history, against this [Turkish] policy that contravenes the first principles of justice and morality”.⁵⁹

The notion of the *Great Idea* aimed to recreate a united Greek Orthodox state that would be based on the principles of ancient Greece and the teachings of the Byzantium; “Hellenism (which comprises of both the ancient and Byzantine Greek past) became ...a very important spiritual and cultural leader”.⁶⁰ What is very interesting in the case of Greece and distinguishes the case of Greece from the rest of Europe is the fact that Greece had a dual identity; Classical Greece and Byzantium. Greece had to prove worthy inheritor of its classical past at a time when classicism was the focus of every artistic inspiration and on the other hand had to promote its Byzantine past as the other part of the Modern Greek identity. Nineteenth century Europe did not turn towards its own individual local pasts and histories but rather chose to adopt a foreign style that was literally created abroad in a land that at the time of the *Grand Tour* was considered unworthy of its great classical inheritance. Modern Greece had to unite the classical past with new local myths and traditions but more importantly with the Christian traditions of Byzantium. More importantly, we have to remember that Modern Greece wanted to be accepted into the European family and by doing so it had to prove not only worthy successor of its acknowledged classical past but had to balance the weight of a classical civilisation to which the rest of the world aspired to with Christian traditions and vernacular idioms. The case of Modern Greece was a complex one as while they had to be acknowledged by their European neighbours, they also had to rebuild the foundations of their nation including both new and old traditions and in particular their Christian faith that was more alive than ever during the 400 years of Turkish occupation.

⁵⁹ translation from Greek, The political manifesto of Troizina, 1827, General Greek Archives “*On religion and faith*” (*Meta thrskeias kai Pisteos*)

⁶⁰ Tsakonas, D. *H koinoniko-politikh shmasia ths Ellhnikhs Epanastashs tou 1821 (The socio-political significance of the Greek Revolution of 1821)*, Epeiriotiki Estia, Ioannina, October 1971:27/511

Greek priests that were later included in the Church calendar took an active part in the Greek revolution. The priests were considered as martyrs because of their devotion to the cause.⁶¹ The monasteries that the priests lived in functioned not only as churches but also as secret schools, hospitals and hostels. (Pl. 9) The Greek historian Vakalopoulos mentions that “the monasteries were great guards against the rage of Islam”.⁶² General Makriyiannis further supports this point: “In the Holy monasteries poor people could find safety [...] [all due to] the efforts of our Fathers, the monks. They were not western cappucini⁶³ servants of the Orthodox monasteries. They were not lazy; they were working and worshipping. And in the fight of the nation secret meetings took place in these monasteries in order to reinforce the revolution and gather artillery; and in the war only those were sacrificed and killed, the servants of the monasteries and churches. About thirty were killed in the war with me and in Kastro, Niokastro and in Athens”.⁶⁴ General Makriyiannis is narrating historical facts through his own experiences in order to record the role of the Church in the Greek Revolution. The participation of priests is related by different sources. General Kolokotronis in his memoirs gives an account of the priests involvement; “...Close to the priest was the chanter, sitting [both] on a bench, the Patriarch, a shepherd, a sailor and a man of the arts, doctors, captains, businessmen and tradesmen”.⁶⁵ The nineteenth century historian, Byzantios, further notes “elders, clerics, sinners, thieves, intellectuals and rich, agreed or rather plotted and fought against the Turkish tyranny”.⁶⁶ Another Greek historian, Pappariopoulos, also narrates, “...whatever the sins of priests of the Patriarchate none of them [priests] abandoned their faith and the keeping of our national interests at heart”.⁶⁷ The Patriarchate had to show alliance to the Turks and thus at times anathematised priests. General Ypsilantis records in his memoirs “The Patriarch forced by the Turks anathematises priests in an effort to show allegiance to the Sultan. You [Greeks], however, should consider them as invalid as

⁶¹ Information about the Greek martyrs of the Greek Revolution even can be found in The Proceedings of the Theological Conference, “In Honor of the Neo-Martyrs” 17-19 November 1986, Thessaloniki 1988:612

⁶² Vakalopoulos, *History*, vol. B: 229

⁶³ The mentioning of “Western Cappucini monks” emphasizes the point that the Greek Churches and monasteries had no relations with Western Churches and moreover did not recognize the authority of the Pope or Western political leaders.

⁶⁴ General Makriyianni *Visions and Miracles (Oramata kai Thamata)*, Athens, 1983: 163/4

⁶⁵ translation from Greek Kolokotronis, Theodore, *Memoirs of facts of the Greek race (Dihghsis sumbanton ellhnikhs fulhs)*, Papuros eds. Athens 1990: 29

⁶⁶ translation from Greek Byzantios, Christos. *Military Hisotory (Istoria tou Taktikou Stratou)* :265, cited in Georgantzi P. *The Priests and 1821 (Oi Arxiereis kai to Eikosiena)*, Xanthi 1985:189

the Patriarch declares them under compulsion and great pressure, against his will”.⁶⁸ There were many incidents where the Sultan executed Patriarchs impeached for high treason. Gregorius É, the first Patriarch of the Greek Church, was anathematised by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and was executed for treason against the Sultan. Gregorius’ death secured the existence of the Patriarchate within the Ottoman state and he was canonized by the Greeks.

Throughout the history of the Greek nation we may record the involvement of the Church and the role of religion in the continuation of traditions and the safeguarding of the national identity. Greek generals lived and were educated in monasteries. Among them hero Paleon Patron Germanos, who led many different revolutions and carried the Greek flag, Androusis Iosif, Monemvasias Chrysanthos, Argolidos Grigorios and Tripoleos Daniel.

The perception of the Greek fight for Independence changed especially towards the end of the eighteenth century because of the ideology of the French Revolution. Europe did not perceive Modern Greece as a re-born Christian State, part of wider Christian Balkans. They saw Modern Greece as a new state that should return to the origins of ancient Greece. Therefore in European circles Greece’s fight had a national character. For example Napoleon’s view of the Greek fight is indicative of the European perception; “This revolution will have a strictly national character, primarily Ancient Greek. It will not only be a Revolution against the Turks but also a revolution against the “Romaic Autocracy” of the Byzantines”.⁶⁹ The 1833 autonomy of the Greek Church reinforces this point.

There were almost 200 Bishops of the Ecumenical Church spread across 171 provinces throughout the Ottoman Empire. Priests were involved in the Philike Etairia as well. In contrast to the West, Bishops in Greece were not considered part of the aristocracy. Greece, influenced by the East, regarded priests as individuals with no

⁶⁷ translation from Greek Paparrigopoulos, K. *History of the Greek State*, vol. 7 Athens 1925:216-7

⁶⁸ translation from Greek, *History of the Greek nation*, Ekdotiki Athinon eds. Vol. IB: 130β

⁶⁹ translation from Greek Romanidis, Ioannis. *The Original Sin (To Propartoriko Amarthma)*, Athens 1989: ιδ,έ,ε.

particular social class: “The members of the Philike Etairia wanted to give a national character to the revolution and thus they asked Fanariotes, Bishops and priests to become members”.⁷⁰ By 1818 almost all the Bishops of Peloponnesus were members of the Philike Etairia. Most historians agree that the clergy was the backbone of the Philike Etairia. For example, Georgantzis gives a statistical percentage of the members of Philike Etairia; clerics 9.5%, farmers 6% and elders 11.7%.⁷¹ According to Panopoulos, a Greek historian, 73 Bishops were involved in the fight for Independence, 42 priests were either jailed or were sentenced to death, 2 Ecumenical Patriarchs (Gregorius É and Kyrillos ΣΤ) and 45 Metropolitan Bishops died during the fight.⁷² Furthermore, according to the French Ambassador Pukervil, around 6000 clerics died in the Greek fight for Independence.⁷³ The Turkish historian, Meliç Bey also confirms this point; “the people of Peloponnesus were incited to fight by tradesmen, elders and most importantly by Bishops and those who belonged to the clergy, meaning the true leaders of the State”.⁷⁴ Zani Zante further states that “the plans (for Revolution) were kept secret among the Patriarch, the Bishops, priests and the elders”.⁷⁵ It was impossible for the Orthodox Church not to be involved in the Greek fight for Independence. For the Greek clergy, Independence would mean breaking free from the sins of Islam, returning to the teachings of Jesus Christ and establishing the true Romaic identity through the creation of an Orthodox Christian Greek state. For the Greek Church being under Turkish rule did not only mean subjugation to foreign rules and customs but identification with the occupier, the death of intellectualism and moral spirit.

⁷⁰ translation from Greek, Kordatos, G. *The social importance of the Greek Revolution (H koinoniki shmasia ths Ellhnikis Epanastashs)*:144, cited in Georgantzis:214, 463

⁷¹ Georgantzis : 240

⁷² translation from Greek, Panopoulos Dimitris, *The Clergy in the National Fight of 1821 (O Klhros sthn Ethnegersia tou 1821)*, Peri Texnon Editions, Patra 2001. Official documents of the involvement of priests in the fight of 1821 can be found in Georgantzis who also mentions these percentages. For further information see Georgantzis: 281 é, é.

⁷³ Georgantzis: 281 é, é.

⁷⁴ Meliç Bey: 240, cited in Mosxopoulos, Nikiforos, *The History of the Greek Revolution according to the Turksih historiographers (H Istoria ths Ellhnikhs Epanastashs kata tous Tourkous istoriographous)* Historikes Grammes, vol. A, Larisa 1979: 240

I.5 FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of Greece in the nineteenth century was framed within a complex and changing international situation. We could say that Greece's foreign policy was the same as the making of her internal policy, since the Great Powers of Europe constantly interfered with the regime, the governance and the political life of the country.

The main political aim of the new state was to free the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire and unite Greeks under one Christian religion. Nineteenth century Greece did not follow a strict foreign policy that would advance Greece's national interests. Instead Greece's foreign policy was complicated by internal social problems that were favoured by Europe in an effort to keep the autocracy of the new King they had appointed. Despite the huge economic and social problems that Greece had to overcome, there is a discourse which develops either through texts or public action in general.

I.6 GREEK SOCIETY

The establishment of the Greek state was accompanied by a series of ruptures that penetrated Greek society. The construction of a modern institutional framework, according to Western models, posed de facto the issue of modernisation of the society. The unifying and centralising process required the application of laws and rules common to the entire state. In nineteenth century Greece, however, the homogenisation of the economical, social and political fields, under a centralised state mechanism, required the dismantling of local and peripheral centres of power. This affected not only local elites, which were traditionally the political leaders in Greek society, but actually tested all the axes of social organisation, family-religion-community ties. The modern institutional framework was much resisted especially in rural areas, where tradition was an important aspect of everyday life. In other words, the social tensions of the whole of the nineteenth century were ways of expressing social distrust in political and social changes.

⁷⁵ Mosxopoulos :107

In addition, social tensions revealed the extent and impact of changes, especially in urban centres. From rural areas to large urban centres, like Athens, the capital of the new state, there was a sense of mistrust and resistance to every innovation. With the development of secondary and tertiary sectors of production and the gradual prevalence of salaried work, new social conditions were created. These new social categories believed in new values and in their daily life they adopted different Western-like models in clothing, nutrition, hygiene and social events. (Pl. 10)

As we will see through this thesis, Greek society in the nineteenth century experienced a fundamental paradox, which can be described as the co-existence of the old and the new, the traditional and the modern. This paradox was the very founding fabric of the whole society. Moreover the resistance of traditional groups to the new social reality does not indicate the persistence of the old but rather an alternative way of adjusting to the new.

1.7 ECONOMY

After the ten year War of Independence and the conflicts that came after the assassination of Kapodistrias, the first governor of Greece, the economy of the new state severely weakened. Agricultural production was very low, whilst trade and maritime activities were at a standstill. The new government had to face problems of land ownership, state finances; it had to revive economic activities, and generally create a modern European state.

The first wave of growth came in the 1860s and 1870s when foreign investors showed an interest in Greece. (Pl. 11) “One of the most important ones [reasons] was the international recession that escalated in 1873, and led to a drop in interest rates abroad. From 1878 on, the settlement of foreign debts contracted in the past and the comparatively higher interest rates offered in Greece compared to the ones of European money markets, led to a rise in capital flowing into Greece from the West in the form of

foreign loans, a trend that was at that time observed in other countries of the periphery as well".⁷⁶

All investment programmes that aimed at the construction of large infrastructure works were mainly financed through foreign loans. However, at the beginning of the 1880s, it became apparent that the country's borrowing capacity had been exhausted. This led to the bankruptcy of 1893. The government's plan to solve the over bearing economic problems and also to reorganise the state and its political system had led to a precarious practice of over-borrowing.

I.8 CULTURE AND THE LANGUAGE DEBATE

The nineteenth century is the period of organization of the Greek state. Since the creation of the new state there was an immediate need for the formation of national Greek identity. National identity is determined by a number of cultural and intellectual elements, which are shared by the members of the same group. The cultural matters that addressed the debate of national identity created fields of opposition and conversation. These involved the language question, the aesthetic and morphological directions that domestic literature had acquired over the years, and the process of developing the Greek towns.

The third problem, however, that the new state had to face was the linguistic homogenization of the country. It was necessary to form a single administrative language to be used by all representatives of official institutions throughout the country.⁷⁷ This decision was necessary in order to create an official state language that would be used by state institutions, in education, in public courts, in the army and other public institutions. The colloquial language, the language of the people however, was not a single language. In fact it consisted of many dialects and this was the very argument against the First Athenian School of Thought, which was in favour of the purist Greek language. In addition, the University of Athens, the secondary education system and the administrative hierarchy formed new social categories which connected katharevousa to their social and

⁷⁶ Foundation of the Hellenic World, www.fhw.org.gr

educational status. Katharevousa, which until then was a means of political and cultural unification of the state, was used as a tool for social differentiation. Classical Antiquity, whose heritage was claimed by modern Greeks, was the most important cultural model of the era. Modern Greeks drew various elements from it and tried to appropriate it according to their social and cultural needs. Within this framework, the selection of archaizing language seemed most appropriate, as it reinforced the argument of the Modern Greeks of their descent from ancient Greece. The daily use of the archaizing language was an additional element that displayed continuity.

The two main schools that were involved in the language discourse were the Heptanesian⁷⁸ School and the First Athenian School.⁷⁹ The Heptanesian School was directed towards the Modern Greek language (demotic) and towards the expression of popular songs and epics of Ionian tradition. The Ionian Islands were the only part of Greece that enjoyed certain liberties even in the pre-revolutionary period. The absence of Turks from these islands and their successive stages of subordination to the Venetians (1386), the Russians (1799), the French (1797, 1807) and the British (1815) had an influence on the creation of auspicious conditions for intellectual development. Publishing and printing houses and theatres already existed in Corfu and Zante and the creation of the Ionian Academy in 1807 in Corfu supported a blooming culture.

On the other hand, the First Athenian School, which was created in a cultural environment which tried to re-establish its bonds with the classical past, promoted the prevalence of the Katharevousa, the purist Greek language, which at the time was directed towards the archaizing language. Often the accusations made by the First Athenian School were that modernists had “neglected the virtues of the Katharevousa while (they) tried to express (themselves) poetically with a mediocre linguistic organ, the popular language”.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ The language debate can be found in Appendix A.

⁷⁸ The Heptanesian School takes its name from the Ionian Islands, Heptanesa where the most important scholars, poets and artists of the School originated from.

⁷⁹ The First Athenian School describes the scholars, poets and artists from the capital that looked for forms of expression closer to the ancient Greek language and literature.

⁸⁰ Cited in The Foundation of the Hellenic World, www.fhw.org.gr

Korais⁸¹ proposed the “middle way” between the archaising language and the colloquial one, freed from foreign elements and enriched with local ones. In the 1880s it was agreed that the language of the new nation will be a language that will be understood and accepted by all members of society regardless of any local dialects. Evidence of this can be found in Giannis Psycharis’ novel, *To Taxidi mou (My Journey)* where the author wrote in demotic language and was accepted by all members of the society.⁸²

1862-1900

1.9 Otto's dethronement and the arrival of George I

After the dethronement of Otto, the Provisional Government prepared for an election to be held in November 1862. After the elections, the Second National Assembly was held on the 10th of December 1862 and its proceedings lasted for two years, ending in November 1864 with a new constitution for the country. Apart from the new constitution, the National Assembly handled the matter of the election of a new King as well as the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece. The political world in Greece was divided into those who wanted to follow the French and those who still believed in the British power over Greece’s political affairs. The political controversies ended in governmental crises, leading to the abolition of the Provisional Government and the assignment of power to the National Assembly. In fact in June 1863 the centre of Athens was transformed into a battlefield, as armed conflicts took place between the supporters of opposite sides. The events of June ended with a truce and the creation of a new Provisional Government, which included both the French and the British parties.

On the 18th of March 1863, the Great Powers nominated, William-George I, the Prince of Denmark. Seven months later, George arrived in Athens as the new King of Greece. Prince William-George Gluecksburg of Denmark, whose father later became the King of Denmark, like Otto, was only seventeen when he came to Greece. In October 1863 he ascended to the throne as the King of Hellenes;

⁸¹ Adamantios Korais was one of the most important politicians of Greece which advocated for the “middle way” of things. He was opposed to any extremist policies and believed that the sharing of different elements from opposing parties is the safest way of creating a new nation.

⁸² References on the language debate of the time can be found in Appendix C of the thesis.

“Greeks, ascending the throne, on which I was called by your vote, I feel the need to address you with a few words...The aim of my ambition is this; to make Greece, as far as is dependent on me, a model kingdom in the East”.⁸³

A contemporary witness, the architect Ernst Ziller records in his memoirs;

“Finally the king himself appeared on the balcony. Near me, glowing in a most formal dress was the wife of some mayor from the provinces. She could not hold herself and she cried: Panagia mou (Oh, Virgin Mary)! This child will become a king. And we want a man with a strong fist!”⁸⁴

A very interesting point to note here is that the Great Powers and the National Assembly created a new law that enabled George to become King even though he had not completed his eighteenth year. This way, they had successfully prevented any further delays and political disputes. The European Powers, in order to show their support for the new King, even though he was very young, decided to give to Greece the Ionian Islands which had been under British rule since 1815.⁸⁵ This, according to Clogg, added around “a quarter of a million new subjects to the Kingdom, which by the early 1860s had a population of some 1,100,000”.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the constitutional assembly that was elected on the 1st of December 1862 drafted a new constitution that became law in October 1864. According to this new law the King did not have the power to appoint the Senate but rather the parliament had legislative power and the power to appoint the new senate. Through the new bureaucratic procedures, there was a better understanding of democratic procedures especially among the new generation of university students who aimed to reform the conditions in the country. With the new constitution and democratic processes, Greece enjoyed freedom of the press and the majority of the public remained interested in international affairs.

However, the internal problems continued. In 1870, a party of three English aristocrats and an Italian count were kidnapped and murdered, in what became known as the Dilessi

⁸³ Ephemeris tis Kuberniseos (newspaper of the Government), no. 4, 18 January 1864

⁸⁴ Ziller, Ernest. *Memoirs*, 51, manuscript in the Greek State Archives

⁸⁵ A map of Modern Greece is given in Pl.1

⁸⁶ Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 83

murders. Several reasons can be given for the continued resort to brigandage. The tradition of irregular fighting that was still going on throughout the nineteenth century was now coupled with general disaffection with the state and especially with its failure to distribute land to landless peasants. On the other hand, brigandage also reflected the continued resistance to the centralising authority of the army and the police and was in part the result of widespread poverty in the countryside. In that context, any wealthy farm, house, or group of individuals especially local farmers, were prime targets. In fact, brigandage was often supported by some of the inhabitants, be they local authorities, clergy, or politicians, who wanted to destabilise the control of the State. In contrast to the westernising influence of the government and the heterochthon Greeks, brigandage perpetuated abroad the image of modern Greeks as a lawless, uncivilised nation. One of the army's major tasks throughout most of the nineteenth century was to fight internal brigandage.

Other issues that were present as well during Otto's reign were the repayment of foreign loans, the modernisation of the infrastructure and economy and territorial expansion. The historian Richard Clogg describes the economic conditions of the time:

“By 1887, 40 per cent of the annual budget was devoted to debt service, and, by the time expenditure on the armed forces had been allowed for, only a very small proportion of these external loans was available to finance (the Prime Minister Harilaos) Trikoupes' public works programmes. The need to maintain Greece's external credit sometimes inhibited the process of domestic reform...(in order) to avoid offending the susceptibilities of foreign capital and of wealthy expatriate Greeks who were increasingly inclined to invest in the mother country.”⁸⁷

In addition until Greece had repaid in full the foreign loans, the European Powers continued to intervene, militarily or administratively, any time they disagreed and opposed the decisions of the Greek government.

King George and the government continued to deal with the continuous power shifts taking place in the Balkan region and with the political unrest in the island of Crete which was still under Ottoman rule. In 1866 Crete demanded unification with Greece and found extensive support among the Greek people. The Greeks of the Kingdom and of the diaspora volunteered to fight for the cause and sent funds in support. Although, as Clogg says the revolt collapsed, the Ottoman government started giving Christians some role in the administration of the island.⁸⁸ In 1895 another revolt broke out in Crete and this time the Greek state send support in the form of ships and troops that resulted in a settlement under which Crete was granted an autonomous status under Ottoman suzerainty.⁸⁹ Greece's open support of the Cretan fight responded to popular sentiment and gained public votes.

The creation of an autocephalous Bulgarian Church in 1870, recognised by the Ottoman government, also signified the creation of an independent Bulgarian nation. When Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in 1877, King George moved Greek troops to the Kingdom's boundaries and ordered a partial mobilisation in early 1878 as an act of support to a fellow Orthodox state. The Congress of Berlin in June/July 1878 recognised the existence of an autonomous Bulgarian principality and the formal independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania. The control of the southern province of Rumelia was given to a Christian governor appointed by the Ottoman government, while Cyprus came under British rule. Greece had not been formally represented in the Congress of Berlin and thus was not satisfied with the decisions. In 1880, the Greek Kingdom started new revolts against the Ottomans in the north and, following pressure by the European Powers, the Ottoman government ceded to Greece the wheat-producing provinces of Thessaly and the Arta region of Epirus in 1881.⁹⁰ In the Greek Kingdom two politicians dominated the last two decades of the nineteenth century; Charilaos Trikoupis of the "modern" (Neoterikon) party and Theodoros Deligiannis of the "national" (Ethnikon) party.⁹¹ Trikoupis was in favour of reformation and represented the

⁸⁷ Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 91

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 87

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 94

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 89

⁹¹ *Historia tou Hellenikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation)*, Athens: Ekdotiki Athenon, 1977, vol. 14:22

modernising force. He was a supporter of business interests and promoted the need to improve the country's infrastructure rather than its territorial expansion. His reforms aimed at the creation of an urban-bourgeois state with constitutional borrowing from the British parliamentary system.⁹² Trikoupis' interpretation of the Great Idea focused on the acceptance of the Modern Greek State as a European country and Greece's cultural domination of the East. Deligiannis' vision of the Great Idea, however, focused on a more nationalist notion with a main focus, territorial expansion. Deligiannis' ideas were shared by the majority of the population in the Kingdom. That is why his party was called "national" (Ethnikon). After Bulgaria annexed Eastern Rumelia, Deligiannis conceded to Greek Irredentism and called for revolution. In 1886 however, the Great Powers of Europe blocked the naval force and forced Greece to demobilize. Deligiannis became a national hero for standing up against the Powers.⁹³ From 1890 to 1892 he replaced the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trikoupis, who was in power from 1887 until 1890 and again from 1892 to 1895.

Greece's financial situation was worsened by the military mobilisation of 1886. In December 1893 Trikoupis announced in Parliament, "unfortunately we are bankrupt".⁹⁴ Predictably, the austerity measures that followed gave Deligiannis the next electoral victory in 1895 and forced Trikoupis to retire to France. Deligiannis continued hostilities against the Ottoman Empire, especially in the northern borders of Thessaly where the Greek army was defeated. The crushing defeat which revealed the country's ill-prepared military was blamed on the eldest son of King George, Crown Prince Constantine, who had led the Greek armies in Thessaly. Having lost, Greece had to pay a war indemnity of four million Turkish pounds (95 million francs) and to concede a number of minor frontier rectifications in Thessaly. However, the most humiliating penalty to Greece was the obligation of an International Financial Control Commission, created by Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, overseeing and controlling the repayment of interest on Greece's debts.⁹⁵ This financial control was Greece's repayment to Europe for stopping the Ottoman army and negotiating the return of Thessaly to

⁹² Ibid. vol.14:39-40

⁹³ Ibid. vol 14:27

⁹⁴ Ibid. vol 14:28

⁹⁵ Clogg, *Modern Greece*: 94

Greece. Greece was not the only country subjected to such control. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Egypt, Serbia and Bulgaria had to agree to the International Financial Control Commission in order to secure foreign loans for the execution of their public works. In Greece, however, diplomatic control was imposed in addition, as the representatives to the International Financial Control Commission were chosen not by the bond-holders but by their governments.⁹⁶ Even though the recurrent financial and diplomatic setbacks and the defeat of 1897 created an atmosphere of “confusion, isolation, introspection and questioning”⁹⁷, nevertheless the last decades of the nineteenth century left a legacy of optimism, embodied in the successful organisation of the first Olympic Games and the modernisation period of the Greek cities, initiated by Trikoupis. Trikoupis’ modernisation efforts set the foundations for changes in the country’s transportation system, communication and technological infrastructure;

“In 1882 there were only 1.359 kilometres of motor roads, two-thirds of which were in the Ionian Islands and had been constructed during the British rule. By 1890 the road network covered over 4.000 kilometres.⁹⁸ The railroad line, which was inaugurated in 1869, was only twelve kilometres long in 1882, connecting Piraeus to Athens. By 1892 it had grown to 906 kilometres and, with the addition of the Athens-Larissa line, it made up most of the network still used today.⁹⁹ Added to that were the improvements in telegram and mail communications, undertaken by a Belgian company, which resulted in 6.760 kilometres (4.000 miles) of, telegraph lines.¹⁰⁰ There was a 40 percent increase in telegrams sent between 1883 and 1887, and an

⁹⁶ *Historia*, vol. 14: 164

⁹⁷ Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 94

⁹⁸ A contemporary British consul comments that the quality of the roads in Greece in 1895 was similar to those in mid-eighteenth century England. Cited in Dertilis, Georgos. *Helleniki Oikonomia (1830-1910) kai Viomichaniki Epanastash (Greek Economy (1830-1910) and Industrial Revolution)*, Athens: Sakkoula Editions, 1984:90

⁹⁹ *Historia*, vol. 14:50-52. Dertilis however mentions that it is doubtful that the rail road encouraged industrialization, Dertilis, *Oikonomia*, 93

¹⁰⁰ Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 91

increase in mail traffic ranging from 50 percent for letters to 250 percent for commercial parcels.”¹⁰¹

Among the public works carried out, the Corinth Canal, which connects Attica with Peloponnesus, and the draining of Lake Copais were the most important. The cutting of the Corinth Canal started in 1882 and was completed in 1893. It was directed by a Hungarian engineer, which cut in half the distance from Piraeus to the Italian coasts and connected Attica with Peloponnesus by bridge. The draining of Lake Copais was started in 1882 by a French company. It was completed in 1932 and recovered 30.000 acres of fertile land. Both projects found public support in the late nineteenth century and signalled the acceptance of technological innovations. Even though Trikoupis’ taxation measures were opposed by the lower classes of society, the upswing of agricultural prices favoured the economic circumstances of the nation and secured Trikoupis’ modernisation project.

Planning and architecture also contributed to the sense of national pride and modernisation. Under George I’s reign 111 new towns were planned and most of the building projects in Athens were completed. Among the buildings in Athens that were completed were the National Academy and the Archaeological Museum. These building projects however do not reflect the inner political, economic and social problems.

The European economic and political situation at the end of the nineteenth century was very different from the early 1830s. Greece had to join the new economic market in Europe that was based on commerce and banking and focused on the industrial and technological interests of Western capitalism.¹⁰² Modern Greece was not in a position to compete in the new economic market as it lacked the work-force and the capital. Only after the turn of the twentieth century, the shipping industry of Greece, which was controlled by the Greeks of the diaspora, became competitive. Greece’s international alliances brought limited direct investments in mainland Greece.¹⁰³ Emigration, which up to then was popular as a safety net of political and economic fluctuations, continued

¹⁰¹ *Historia*, vol. 14: 52

¹⁰² Dertilis, *Oikonomia*, 27

¹⁰³ Unlike Britain where shipping and industry were connected, Greece’s poor social and economic conditions prevented investments. Dertilis, *Oikonomia*, 30-39

through the century and was directed towards flourishing Greek centres in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Russia and the United States. Clogg mentions that “between 1890 and 1914 some 35.000 Greeks, amounting almost to one sixth of the population, migrated, principally to the United States”.¹⁰⁴ Within Greece people migrated to developing urban centres and especially Athens, which further weakened the development of agriculture and capital in rural areas. Those of the Greeks that moved to the cities were employed either in the private sector or in government offices. The domestic capital was sustained by commerce and the stock market rather than the industry, as Greece did not have a stable infrastructure. (Pl. 12)

Between 1833 and 1878 the country’s inability to meet mortgage payments on the foreign loans barred Greece from the Western stock markets, eliminating even more any possibility of foreign investment.¹⁰⁵ The Greeks of the diaspora, primarily bankers, merchants and ship-owners, provided the much needed capital as they were able to see future profit opportunities.¹⁰⁶ These foreign-based Greeks were more familiar with commerce and money-lending than with Western processes. Ideologically they perceived themselves as patriots supporting the economy with their capital.¹⁰⁷ Their ruthless profit-making was seen at times as colonisation and apart from the legacy of neoclassical buildings they left the legacy of manipulating public money.¹⁰⁸ Slowly the purchase of land in the new urban centres and the funding for the construction of elaborate public buildings became a method of investment among both local Greeks and the Greeks of the diaspora.

In order to hide the fragility and inner problems of the new Kingdom, Greece had to present a strong cultural image. A common Greek identity was needed to mask the continuous political, economic and social problems and diplomatic humiliations. This common Greek identity would be achieved by a sense of shared history and purpose that would allow the new nation to describe how it imagined itself in the future. The cultural

¹⁰⁴ Clogg, *Modern Greece*, 93

¹⁰⁵ Dertilis, *Oikonomia*, 54-56

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* *Oikonomia*, 56

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* *Oikonomia*, 56

¹⁰⁸ *Historia*, vol. 14: 56-60. In this part there are more information about the economic transactions of the Greeks of the diaspora.



myths of national unity created the foundations for the development of education, religion and contemporary politics.

King George continued the building work of Otto but focused more on the Greek economy, social housing and agriculture. He believed that through a stable economy the Greek state would be able to advance claims on the territory of the collapsing Ottoman Empire. We could say the George's rule focused more on the immediate political problems of the country outside the borders of Athens. For the new King the expansion of Greece's territory and a stable political and economic environment were more important than the creation of a capital for the display of political power. Because of the political developments of the time, the Greco-Turkish War (1897) and the Asia Minor campaign,¹⁰⁹ George focused on the military and placed most of the public funds on military supplies.

I.10 Modern City

It is much later in the 1900s, after Greece had ended its conflicts with Turkey, that the idea of relating urban growth to national development and social progress gained ground. The concept of the city as an organic whole emerged, and comprehensive regulations, probing and planning were instituted. Especially the capital, which is not lacking problems, grew and was reorganised. New means of transportation were introduced, public works were underway, streets were extended and paved with asphalt, roads were given contemporary names, the centre is supplied with electrical power and new places and forms of entertainment emerged. By 1896 the population of the large cities increased by more than 50%. The rural masses moved to the cities from all areas of the country in an effort to find better jobs and better living conditions.

Discourse and experimentation concerning the modern city and the role of town planning in the modernisation of society and the improvement of everyday life were observed already from the outset of the creation of the new state. Neo-classicism

¹⁰⁹ The Asia Minor campaign focused on the re-claiming of Greek territories in Asia Minor that were still under Turkish rule. However with Greece's defeat in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 the Greek borders stretched to the present ones.

remained the architectural taste of the period mostly among the liberal bourgeois class, gratifying at the same time the latter's desire for social orientation and the Great Idea imperative. Modern Greek architects give neo-classicism a "modern", "pure" form. In the suburbs of Athens bourgeois mansions were built, based on traditional architecture with eclectic admixtures. Hence especially after the 1900s Athenian architecture is mostly interested in functionalism and simplicity and less in the display of social hierarchies.

Neo-classical architecture also predominates during this period in the anonymous architecture of the lower classes. The form becomes standardized but remains functional and simple. Private houses in the old quarters of Athens, in Plaka, Petralona and Kolonos, had an interior courtyard, an upper storey gallery with window panes and a classicist façade with decorative terracotta tiles, as we will see in the neoclassicism chapter.

The Neo-classical style is not present only in urban centres, but is disseminated in the countryside as well. The emergence of neo-classicism in towns and villages at the beginning of the twentieth century shows a participation of the upper social classes in a new culture. The contrary however appears with the architecture of lower classes of provincial towns as they are more attached to traditional architecture. Especially at the beginning of the twentieth century Modern Greek architects and politicians moved towards traditional architectural forms with an emphasis on Byzantine building tradition, in order to create a Greek style adjusted to Greek needs. As we will examine in the chapter to follow, neo-classicism became the official state architecture and proved the tool for nationhood and the creation of the national Greek identity. Greece in order to become part of Europe adopted the neo-classical style but transformed it according to the local conditions, topography and social needs and created the *Greek neo-classicism*, a new architectural style particular to Greece.

CHAPTER TWO

II. NEO-CLASSICISM IN EUROPE: In Pursuit of a Style

II.1 The Neo-classical Movement at the end of the eighteenth century

The transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century was mainly by considerations of style. These considerations were about the need to return to the ancient sources and create designs characterised by simplicity of form and function. In this chapter, we will examine neoclassicism as it was developed in France, Bavaria, Prussia and Greece. My aim here is to examine the architectural vocabulary of the nineteenth capital in order to establish the political significance of public architecture in Athens. To do this I have paid particular attention to the German debate about style in order to demonstrate how Greek architects who had studied in Prussia and Bavaria brought with them the architectural ideology of their time.

Within the history of western architecture we can see styles and trends towards simplicity of form. Vandenbreeden suggested that “an early form of “neo-classical” architecture emerged with the Renaissance. The exuberant architecture of the Baroque, the Louis XV style, and the Rococo eventually led to the sobriety of classicism and the Louis XVI style”.¹ The neoclassical movement, which was already widespread in Western Europe, was further developed in the early nineteenth century. It mainly focused on the formal vocabulary of classical Greece and Rome. The archaeological excavations of the late eighteenth century with the pick of the discovery of Herculaneum emphasised a

renewed interest in Greek and Roman art and architecture. The classical world was now the object of new research but also provided artists with new models.² In the new era strict mathematical rules and propositions determined the composition of the façade. The writings of Vitruvius, which were previously revived by Renaissance architects like Alberti and Brunelleschi, served as a model. This model was based on the classical ideals of equilibrium: *harmony* and *reason*. These formed again the basis for the treatment of art and architecture. For some artists the reconsideration of Greek and Roman art and architecture was a matter of aesthetic inspiration and for some others it was based on purely architectural principles. Proportion and space created in past architectural types, were adapted both generally and in detail to suit new needs and changing functions of buildings. Neo-classicism applied the principle of combining forms, spaces and volumes from the past in order to achieve the most dramatic effect of a building and the maximum functionality. Aesthetic considerations were now treated as a mixture between classical Greek and Roman styles, as for instance a Greek temple façade combined with a Roman-style dome in the interior.

In 1745 Richard Pococke's *Description of the East and Some Other Countries* and the work of Richard Dalton *Antiquities of Greece and Egypt*, in 1752, gave a further insight into the art and architecture of Ancient Greece and Egypt. These works presented detailed measured drawings of Athenian and Egyptian antiquities, setting therefore for the first time, the background for further study and exploration. These books also set the standard for the understanding and evaluation of "higher art".

Greenhalgh³ suggests that where new styles developed, they were relating Antique Art and an immense interest in nature and naturalism. In architecture this meant the return

¹ Vandenbreeden, Jos and Evrard-Dierkens, Françoise. *The Nineteenth Century in Belgium*, Drukkerij Lanoonv, Tielt, 1994:39

² The development of architectural theories was perfected in translations, new editions and interpretations of classical and Renaissance theories. For instance the writings of Andrea Palladio, Marc-Antoine Laugier, Etienne-Louis Boullée and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux provided the basis for the development of architecture

³ Greenhalgh, Michael. *What is Classicism?* Academy Editions, London, 1990

to architectural fundamentals, which have their roots in the past. In Greece, this turn to the artistic and architectural principles of the past, is evident much later however, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when Greece got its Independence from the Ottoman rule. In 1764, Johann Joachim Winckelmann published his study on the “History of Ancient Art”, where he stated that Ancient Greek art ought to be regarded as an “exemplar” for any kind of art.⁴ Gelernter cites another suggestion of Winckelmann on the “imitation of beauty”: “there are two ways to imitate beauty, he claimed, either by drawing from one beauty or by composing an ideal beauty out of the observations of many beauties. The former he disparaged as mere “copying, drawing a portrait”, it is the straight way to Dutch Forms and figures, whereas the other leads to general beauty and its ideal images, and is the way the Greeks took”.⁵ Gelernter goes further to point to the greatness of neo-classicism based on an innate admiration of the classicists: “Winckelmann, pointed out with admiration that the ancients purified their images of personal feelings, because feelings direct the mind from the truly beautiful. Art is the discovery of something external to the artist, not the expression of something from within.”⁶ This is the very difference between neo-classicism and Romanticism: neo-classicism sees art as “something external to the artist, whereas the Romantic concept sees art as the personal expression of the artist”.⁷

Reynolds further notes the role of neo-classical architecture as an expression of contemporary needs and ideals, which led some architects to copy ancient models with extreme archaeological accuracy. Others united different forms from antiquity with those of other periods to solve modern problems. Neo-classical architecture acted as the point of reference for a sense of reference and direction: “Neoclassical architecture, like the paintings and sculpture arising from the same revival, was informed by a contemporary

⁴ Gelernter, Mark. *Sources of Architectural Form: a critical history of Western design theory*, Manchester University Press, 1996

⁵ Winckelmann, Johann. J. *History of Ancient Art*, 1755:171, cited in Gelernter, Mark. 1996:168

⁶ Gelernter Mark *Sources of Architectural Form: a critical history of Western design theory*, Manchester University Press, 1996:169

⁷ Ibid. 1996:169-170

view of Greece and Rome as the enlightened civilisations built upon reason and respect for the laws of nature. This revival differed from the former ones in its concern for “an ethic, which it ascribed (spuriously) to antiquity and in the way it adapted antique sources”⁸. In doing so, architects drew influences from travels and expeditions to important archaeological sites. Stuart and Revett's volumes on *The Antiquities of Athens*, published from 1762, had an enormous influence on architectural practices and the formation of taste.

The nineteenth century dictated a return to basics. Society was considered as multi dimensional with many ideas about architecture and urban planning that ran along side each other and often intermingled. Neoclassical architecture which had shown signs of revived classicism since the style of Louis XVI style in eighteenth century France, was rationalised. Many neoclassical buildings of the time could be considered as the architect's personal interpretation of classical architecture. This is evident in the neoclassical buildings of nineteenth century Athens, which have simple exteriors and severity of composition. As will be analysed further in this chapter, Greek neo-classicism is composed of simple, eclectic volumes. As far as urban planning is concerned, strict building regulations were laid down. Around squares and more prestigious complexes, proprietors had to conform to a specific style of façade and colour and it was often the case that a number of detailed plans made by the architect had to be strictly adhered to. In the residential areas of Athens everything possibly down to the design and colour of ornaments in the metopes was directed by the state's architects. All the window frames were to be made to the same model, observing the height and division of the windows, all in conformity with the plans.⁹ As will be discussed in the Urban Planning chapter, the proprietors who did not conform to the new arrangements could even lose their right to ownership. Porphyrios notes that neoclassicism, while creating normative principles about

⁸ Reynolds, Joshua. *Discourses on Art*, New Haven Publications, second edition 1992:3

⁹ Mpiris, Kostas, *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona (Athens from the nineteenth until the twentieth century)*, Melissa Publications, Athens 1995

art and architecture, “elevated art (and architecture) into an idealised, metaphysical realm”.¹⁰

II.2 Neo-classicism as a means to urban beautification

Neo-classicism was regarded as the revival of the arts and the revelation of timeless truths.¹¹ The transition from Rococo to Neo-classicism was more than a stylistic shift: it was more a deep change in attitudes to art as a whole. Beauty was combined with utility and necessity. In architecture, designs became more symmetrical and expressive. Though there was still rich ornamentation, it was symmetrically matched with architecture. Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pillars, instead of being purely ornamental, were now part of the supportive structure. In Modern Greece pediments crowned the entranceways leading to open oval rooms. Through these designs, the architects were not simply creating a new style but were expressing a moral aspiration.

The architecture of eighteenth century England, France and the United States reflects both a renewed appreciation of the ancient ideals of Greece and Rome and an espousal of the new revolutionary spirit. It does manifest however, the individual preferences of the architect. Columns, arches and domes, contrary to neo-classical art, were not meant to instigate a revolution. Unlike painters, most neo-classical architects came from rich backgrounds and held no significant grievances against their system of government.

Giambattista Piranesi, who was determined to prove the misconception of Greek superiority, set the trend for studying Roman architecture. Piranesi published a multiplicity of books; however as Summerson (1953) notes, his most important

¹⁰ Porphyrios, Dimitri. *Classical Architecture*, Andreas Papadakis Publisher, 1998:12

¹¹ Kalnein, Wend von. *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth century*, London: Yale University Press, 1995

contribution was his use of archaeological sites.¹² Neo-classicism flourished in the Age of Reason. It was then that the calm and dignified forms accommodated the rationalism that was held dear by many architects, artists and philosophers of the era. Abbé Laugier detested the excessive frills of the Baroque and Rococo styles. In his *Essai Sur l'Architecture*, Laugier suggested that “one should never put anything in a building for which he can not give a solid reason”.¹³

Laugier further suggested the turn to the beginning of civilisation itself for the source of superior architectural form. For this he posed a primitive hut standing in a forest, with four columns and a simple gable-end roof of branches as the ultimate source of architectural form.¹⁴ He suggested that this “primitive” form of art should be used as an example for all architecture: “The architecture which comes closest to this pure and rational structure of columns, beams and gable -ends is the architecture which comes closest to the principles of nature”.¹⁵ Although Laugier did not advocate the strict imitation of the antique, yet he suggested the testing and evaluation of antique forms in terms of their applicability to modern buildings and contemporary needs. For this he supported the invention of new forms in case the old ones were inadequate to contemporary needs. Laugier’s new way of thought had “a vitality that appealed to the progressive architects of his own day and continued to have an influence well into the nineteenth century, both in Europe and in the New World”.¹⁶ Moreover we could suggest that neo-classical architecture provided a redefinition of architectural aesthetics, a new understanding of architectural typology and an enthusiasm for the experiential aspect of certain components of classical architecture.

¹² Summerson, John. *The Pelican History of Art: Architecture in Britain*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1953

¹³ Ibid. 1953:409

¹⁴ Gelernter, Mark. *Sources of Architectural Form: a critical history of Western design theory*. Manchester University Press 1996. Vitruvius was the first one who talked about the “primitive hut” and the importance of creating architecture that abides by the principles of nature.

¹⁵ Ibid. 1996:174

¹⁶ Reynolds *Discourses on Art*: 5

In the opening years of the nineteenth century there was a simplification of all building projects whether humble housing complexes or elaborate public buildings. This style flourished especially in the United States, during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Second Bank of the United States, in Philadelphia in 1824, was designed by William Strickland and is based on the style of a Doric temple. Both the Federal and Greek revival styles defined the architectural ethos of the newly founded United States.

Greek inspired architecture in England is exemplified by such constructions as the Bank of England rotunda (1796) by Sir John Soane and the British Museum portico (1823-1847) by Sir Robert Smirke. Later in England the Greek revival style was modified by the Regency style.

II.3 The German Debate on style

In order to understand the architectural debate of the 1800s it is important to turn to Bavaria and Prussia and more importantly to Heinrich Huebsch, Rudolf Wiegmann, Carl Rosenthal, Johann Wolf and Carl Bötticher, all of whom were involved in the debate on the architectural style of 1820s – 1847 and formed the basis for German architectural nationalism. Bavaria and Prussia that were later unified in one German State are important in my study of the debate about architectural style as many of the architects involved in the creation of Modern Athens originated from Bavaria or Prussia or were educated close to famous architects like Schinkel. However, we should note that Bavaria and Prussia had different agendas for the adoption of neoclassical architecture. Bavaria was more concerned with the adoption of neoclassical architecture, as a state symbol of the new regime, whereas Prussia in the face of neoclassical architecture saw the “cathartic means of nationalism”. By that we mean that they chose to copy classical Greek architecture in order to break from the legacy of France, which did not give them any particular national character. In addition Prussians tried to purify themselves through classical Greek architecture and projected themselves as the successors of ancient Greece. Bavaria was more concerned with the mixture of different styles, and chose to focus on neo-classicism

as a pledge to European aesthetics. Therefore, in this part of my thesis we will deal with the architecture of Prussia and Bavaria, in order to understand the artistic background of the architects involved in the building of Modern Athens and examine Athens in its wider European context.

Prussia, a growing European power, as one of the victors over Napoleon, was also concerned with neo-classical design. Its most profound architect, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, was appointed by King Friedrich Wilhelm III to begin the building campaign to transform Berlin (the capital of Prussia) into a world-class capital city. Schinkel, having travelled to Italy, was mainly concerned with construction details. Two of his most representative works are the *Altes Museum* and the *Bauakademie* in Berlin. (Pls. 1&2)

The Altes Museum (1824-1828) was a new building type for the public display of art. It had a logical plan and circulation pattern based on a thorough study of the building's function to display the work of art as an educational tool. Following the classical principles of symmetry and clarity, Schinkel designed an Ionic front portico with grand staircases: "the site needed a very monumental building. Therefore I preferred one giant order rather than two individual expressions for the two main stories. The building is surrounded on all sides by Ionic entablatures. (It) forms a simple yet grand main structure into which the two floors are inserted in a subordinate manner".¹⁷ Overall the design of the Altes Museum is seen as rational, functional and elegant in accord with the design principles of the time. (Pl. 3)

The Bauakademie of Berlin was an architectural school based on the approach of Ecole Polytechnique, not the Beaux-Arts. Schinkel's design was simplistic and very utilitarian. (Pl. 4) Schinkel's theories included the very fundamental elements of architecture and design: the structure of a building. He was in favour of visible structural elements, as concealing them would be "falsehood". Moreover he advocated that a good

¹⁷ Schinkel's speech, 1830, Altes Museum archive, Schinkel file.

architectural style comes from using one material according to its nature, or several together, but each in its own “proper” way. Schinkel's works ask the fundamental question “*should not we try to discover a style for our own age?*” Schinkel influenced Athens’ first architects and urban planners who, as we will see in detail in the Urban Planning Chapter, although they were designing having in mind the classical surroundings, managed to create a modern city with a road system that would combine the green and city life.

Schinkel tried to resolve the contrast between Greek and Gothic styles. In his 1811 memorandum on the rebuilding of Petrikirche in Berlin, Schinkel referred to the two poles of art: Antique and Christian art and *their fusion into a synthesis of art*. As mentioned before, the urban and architectural designs for Modern Athens had as a focal point the Acropolis and the other antiquities. Especially when the location of neo-classical buildings had to be decided, the location of the Acropolis and other antiquities were emphasised. The trilogy of Academy, University, National Library, were created with regard to the Acropolis, which stands in the middle of all design work. This synthesis of Greek and Byzantine architecture and urban design gave a rational foundation to Schinkel’s vision. At the time it was believed that Greek architecture “had found a new home”.¹⁸ This process of development had to continue “by a future generation in a synthesis of both”.¹⁹ The Bauakademie in Berlin provided the best example of the bridging of the two styles and the birth of a new one. Schinkel did not see the synthesis of Greek, Gothic and Byzantine as a Romantic gesture but as an interesting concept that ought to be pursued here and now. He saw it as the duty of later civilisations to cultivate their knowledge of the past and create new artistic forms as exemplars for future generations. Even though the Bauakademie was the topic of discussion as to the appropriateness of its Greek and Gothic connotations, the appreciation of Greek art and architecture was as strong as ever in most European countries of the nineteenth century:

“An unbiased study of the forms of many parts of the Greek style,

¹⁸ Hermann, Wolfgang, *In what style should we build? The German Debate on Architectural Style*, The Getty Centre Publication programs, 1992:35

such as cornice, frieze, and architrave, would confirm that these were not determined by structural, but solely by aesthetic considerations. Since the corresponding forms that we see on Romanesque and Gothic buildings were also only loosely connected with the construction, there was no reason why we should not take the Greek forms as models. This much is certain, whatever a nation deemed to be appropriate, when it had reached a degree of general and artistic culture as high as the Greeks had reached at the greatest period of their existence, we can imitate today without hesitation...even where we cannot constantly see the particular reason for it".²⁰

This great appreciation of Greek art and architecture did not mean the mere copying of ancient forms. It meant the development of a further skilful adaptation of these forms for the need of contemporary life. That the Greek style had the potential to be developed further was evident in successive artistic periods and in particular in the way in which Greek forms were organically joined with Roman and Italian vaults. Moreover, since Greek and Roman architecture represented "monumentality", the adoption of Greco-Roman forms for the design of new Athens was imperative.

Leo von Klenze, the principal architect of Modern Athens, also erected the Valhalla near Regensburg in Bavaria in 1830. Klenze's design was the culmination of the Picturesque vision of setting a temple on high and endowing it with Greek art.²¹ (Pl. 5)

¹⁹ Ibid. 1992:35

²⁰ Stier, Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig. *Beiträge zur Feststellung des Principes der Baukunst für das vaterländische Bauwesen der Gegenwart: Architrav und Bogen*, Allgemeine Bauzeitung 8, 1843: 327-29

²¹ Kaufmann, Emil. *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, Harvard University Press, 1955

II.4 Nationalism and Architectonics

The emergence of architectural theories that had their roots in nationalism came at a time of historical consciousness. It was after the French revolution of 1789 and the Age of Enlightenment that many European countries were involved in the process of state building and were concerned with issues of nationalism and appropriate architectural styles for the formation and cultural progression of their state. It was at this time when philosophical issues of the origins of “state” came to the foreground and nationalistic ideologies became the principal tool for the establishment of states and the appreciation and repatriation of cultural heritage.

Hegel, one of the major post-Enlightenment thinkers, challenges the classical conception of political economy of a self-regulating market. Hegel goes against the unrestrained growth of society, which generates growing divisions between the rich and the poor, a shortage of commodities and a tendency towards external expansion which is both liberating and destabilising. In contrast to these, he argues that the state- the third moment of Ethical Life- is necessary to harmonise and stabilise the conflicts of civil society. This idea can be traced back to the early modern Cameralist School of German economists, where they argued that the proper functioning of markets depended on state regulation.

Hegel’s theory of the state however goes beyond these considerations. For him the state is the highest form of social reason, “*the idea made manifest on earth*”.²² The state is an inclusive form of self-interested, self-aware individuals, which allows them to realise their freedom, as a political community, through the creation of different social institutions: “(The state like) the actuality of the ethical idea, has its immediate existence in *custom* and its mediate existence in the *self-consciousness* of the individual, in the individual’s knowledge and activity: just as self-consciousness by virtue of its disposition,

²² Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: Introduction*. Translated by H.B. Nisbet, Cambridge University Press 1975: 95

has its *substantial freedom* in the state as in essence, its end, and the product of its activity”.²³ The different social institutions are governed by a differentiated and internally articulated political structure, in order to construct “the absolute freedom” of society. In particular, the modern state combines a constitutional monarch, the executive power that he heads, the permanent bureaucracy and some representatives of the people. The thread connecting all these components is the legislature through which society gains political representation. Hegel believes in the unity of people and is against the isolation of the individual in a civil society.²⁴ Moreover, he sees bureaucracy, as “the universal estate”, an estate which devotes itself to the “service of the government”.²⁵ Hegel’s theory of the modern state was an attempt to conceptualise a form of state capable of harmoniously reconciling the contradictions of modernity. The consciousness of political systems and the creation of a state, which would include the basic principles of *austerity*, *power*, *sensibility* and *tectonics*, were issues that were brought up not only in Hegel’s *Phenomenology* and the *Philosophy of World History*, but also in the Kantian theory of thought. The spirit of the era promoted the idea of the consciousness of freedom: “World history is the progress of the consciousness of freedom. Indeed, the conflicts of men moved by particular interests and passions are merely instruments of the “universal idea”, which keeps itself in the background, untouched and unharmed, and sends forth the particular interests to fight and wear themselves out in its stead. It is what we may call the cunning of reason that it sets the passions to work in its service, so that the agents by which it gives itself existence must pay the penalty and suffer the loss”.²⁶

Towards the end of the Enlightenment the swift in the discourse of reason and philosophical transcendence from the Roman antiquity to the Middle ages and Classical Greece, meant that the Middle ages and classical Greece were to compete for the patina of

²³ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Philosophy of Right (Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts)*. Translated by T.M.Knox London, Oxford University Press 1967: 275

²⁴ Ibid. 1967

²⁵ Ibid. 1967:303,343

²⁶ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: Introduction*. Translated by H.B. Nisbet, Cambridge University Press 1975: 54,65,89

legitimacy of historical, philosophical and artistic knowledge. Historicism was reoriented from the universal to the individual, from a universal obligation to a nationalistic aspiration and technique of formalisation. National progress, with the ultimate goal of austerity, came to the foreground and syndromes of nationalism became evident through architecture and the arts. It could be said that this national obsession of Germany for *cathartic*, pure architectural forms, came from the Napoleonic domination of German States, and thus spurred an urge for liberation from anything French, in terms of both the political and the cultural, focusing therefore their attention of self-formation (*Bildung*) as a unified nation.²⁷ Even though most of these principles originated from the universalism and search of originality of the Enlightenment they later became the foundation stones of nationalism, especially in the German states and Denmark, where pure forms of architecture were put forward. Based on the study of the German states and Denmark, we could suggest that all nations require some sort of cathartic architectural style and form in order to create their national principles upon which the “new” society after a liberation or upheaval would be based on. By “cathartic” we mean an architectural style or form that has traces back to antiquity, especially at times of great cultural or artistic innovations of universal acknowledgement. In the case of Modern Athens, the European powers wanted to revive the glory of classical Athens by adopting neoclassical architecture, and destroying the traces of the recent Ottoman past.

The ideological roots of German thought and its nationalistic architectural principles extend back to Goethe and his work *On German Architecture* (1770).²⁸ However the most articulate debate came in the 1820s with Heinrich Huebsch and Alois Hirt. Huebsch, in his work *On Greek Architecture* (1822), provided a theoretical basis for the formation of architectural nationalism by systematically criticizing Hirt’s work on

²⁷ Hermann, Wolfgang, *In what style should we build? The German Debate on Architectural Style*, The Getty Centre Publication programs, 1992

²⁸ Bergdoll, Barry. *Archaeology versus History: Heinrich Huebsch’s Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory*, Oxford Art Journal 5, no. 2, 1983: 2-12

Architecture According to the principles of the Ancients (1809).²⁹ He was opposed to the re-orientation of the post-Roman tradition towards the recently discovered monuments in Greece: “although Hirt was moved by historical and archaeological investigations to recover architectural truth in a different set of foundations: he (Huebsch) rejected the continued construction of architectural authority upon a set of deductive movements from an exterior and imagined centre, and proposed instead an inductive manoeuvre from the particular realities of contemporary existence in the native land. In contrast to Hirtian classicism, Huebsch’s nationalism was distinguished not only by its conflict-laden demarcation of the historical parameters of architectural knowledge, but more fundamentally, in its strategy of resistance to universals. It sought its reason, by contrast, in an ideal interiorisation which moves from particular to particular”.³⁰ The debate between Huebsch and Hirt set the parameters for the debate about architectural nationalism: “local versus international, materialism *versus* canonic rules, vernacular *versus* high, crafts *versus* art, practical *versus* intellectual”.³¹

Hirt viewed Greek architecture as the epitome of universal truth. Greek artistic expressions were considered to encapsulate the Greek principles of honesty and philosophical vigour, *αλήθεια*, which set the framework of eighteenth century thought by bringing together both rationalist and empiricist approaches. Therefore, the aim of this “new” type of architecture, *griechisch-roemisch*, was to follow a specific set of rules, which reflect the *spirit* of Mediterranean classicism. Greek classicism, especially for Bavarians and Prussians, was believed to be of immense beauty and to have set the standards for the appreciation of art thereafter. These rules involved proportions, symmetry, and eurhythmy, simplicity of forms, decoration, and technique. Hirt was in favour of a universal form of historicism and not the mere copying and superfluous

²⁹ Both bibliographic references for Hirt and Huebsch can be found in Hermann, *In what style should we build?* 1992. In Hermann’s book there is a detailed commentary about the two books and their different styles.

³⁰ Ibid. 1983: 3

³¹ Huebsch, Heinrich. *Vertheidigung der griechischen Architektur gegen, Alois Hirt*, (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1824), in Schwartz, Mitchel. *Heinrich Huebsch and German Architectural Nationalism*, JSAH, 1993: 1

abstraction of historical mass from antiquity. He was proclaiming for the knowledge that would come through the studying of the set of rules that pushed the Greeks to higher levels of intellectualism. He was more interested in retaining “customs for custom’s sake”. Classical architecture provided the evidence for the claims of Greek-German origins.

Quite to the contrary, Huebsch promoted national or differential historicism. He saw the Greeks as national designers, and his principal aim was to understand the Greeks for German purposes. Following the tradition of imitation of art and universal appreciation that started from Schiller, Gilly, Winckelmann and Weinbrenner, Huebsch realized the importance of the empirical study of the Greeks in order to lay the foundations for German nationalism.

The whole idea of the movement was to “understand” the national strengths of the Germans through the empirical study of the Greeks. In this case the Greeks were seen as the amalgam, the universal example of a particular kind of nationalism. In many cases we could say that the Bavarians and Prussians associated their national interests and aspirations with those of the Ancient Greeks. The same can also be argued for the case of nineteenth century Greece, where the Germans were eager to reconstruct the ancient Greek ethos, and appear as the true successors of Greek thought and artistic expression. This is why they introduced the study of ancient Greek literature and language as part of the national curriculum in schools, promoted theatre with antique themes and, ultimately, built neo-classical architecture with decorative themes borrowed from antiquity, as in the case of the Academy and the University of Athens. (Pl. 6)

Huebsch opposed the mere copying of Greeks forms. His ideal situation was to be inspired by the Greeks and design according to the needs of German nationalism: “Deploring Hirt’s reliance upon custom for custom’s sake (his reliance on *erlernten Regeln* and *allgemeinen Pruefungssatz*), Huebsch rejected design theorizing from *a priori* classical rules. Rather, design logic must proceed inductively from individual observations

of, and actions toward, German culture and nature”.³²

Huebsch, in his most famous book, “In which style should we build?” which included the primary material of his controversial thinking on the use of architecture and Greek universal design, moved from early nationalism to mature nationalism and the significance of individual design for the welfare of the state: “although his architectural theory conceived building as a series of rational actions toward a functional set of programmatic aims, Huebsch sought a new centring of architecture in the Romanesque style (Rundbogenstil). Huebsch adopted the round arch as the essence of German building. A historicist at heart, he surmised that if Greek universal style is not appropriate for Germany then another style must be found which is appropriate to the northern latitudes and their practical building traditions, and be understandable by the common people. Seeking to focus architectural consciousness in the German landscape, Huebsch’s nationalism was conceived foremost as an act of cultural rehabilitation”.³³

Huebsch believed that the specific morphology and ornamentation of Greek architecture relates to the specific morphology of the ground, ideology, culture and natural environment. Therefore they were appropriate to their own time and place. Moreover, this idea became the founding stone of Neo-Greek architectural design, as all the architects involved, primarily Bavarians, Prussians and Danish, believed in reconstructing the glory of ancient Greece and designed according to the morphology of the Greek landscape and the existing classical antiquities on the Greek soil. Of great importance in this case are the buildings of the National Library, the Academy and the University of Athens, along with Otto’s palace, that were built in close proximity to the Acropolis and other archaeological sites, with vistas to antiquities, in Greek revival or Greek neo-classical style. (Pl 7)

³² Huebsch, Heinrich. *In Welchem Style sollen wir bauen?*, Karlsruhe: Fr. Mueller’schen, 1828: 52

³³ Huebsch, Heinrich. *Ueber griechische Architektur*, (Heidelberg: Akademische Buchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr) 1824:77 cited in *Heinrich Huebsch and German Architectural Nationalism*, cited in Schwarzer, Mitchel *Ontology and representation in Karl Bötticher's Theory of Tectonics*, JSAH, 1993:2

Therefore based on the theory of the appropriateness of architecture according to specific cultural, national, social needs and natural tectonic potentialities, all the neoclassical buildings of nineteenth Athens were built according to the pervasive social, cultural and national needs not only of the Greek people but of the Great Powers of Europe at the time. Huebsch was more in favour of polymorphy in architecture, in opposition to the sterile copying of Greek art and architecture. At this stage it is important to note that Huebsch did not see architectural history as linear, but in respect to the social and political circumstances of the time. For him architecture did not follow any central action, any prototype in design. He rather believed that styles developed individually according to the active demands of the local climate, the people, religion, materials and needs. The appearance of mixed building methods, like the presence of a wooden roof in the stone constructed temples of Ancient Greece, offered evidence for his theory on the parallel development of wood and stone especially in countries that possess both building materials. Therefore, building in wood or stone may develop together and they by no means, succumb to exclusivity or succession. His attack on the Vitruvian and Hirtian view of the evolution of styles from wood construction, urged him further to talk about tectonic relationships. As he suggested, the dominant Greek artistic forms of the stone temple do not imitate their previous wooden character but rather that which is technical – *das Technische zu schmucken*. In substituting a new principle for static imitation, Huebsch proposed the active realization of economic purpose and the fulfilment of Festigkeit (solidity): “Economic purpose is the fundamental purpose of the existence of every building. Solidity gives it the possibility of such existence and requires the correct construction. Construction, finally, is the creation and connection of elements of building according to the laws of statics and the properties of materials”.³⁴

Unlike Hirt who was in favour of imitation of ornamentation and copying of architectural styles and forms, Huebsch was in favour of forms and styles that emerge from “the closest purpose” -*dem naechsten Zweck*- in contemporary society. The adoption

³⁴ Ibid. 1824:34

of Vitruvian ideas of beauty, irregularity, and symmetry is architecture made into simple decoration, whereas columns and forms that come from architectural members, result from static relationships and emerge as artistic creations in response to national needs. For this reason, Huebsch was later accused of being too practical, endangering architecture by rendering it from being an intellectual discipline to a merely functionalist approach. However, the more the Germans became obsessed with the nature of their origins, the more they rejected Huebsch's idea of *Zweck*, and the acceptance of an international style in architecture. With the advent of nineteenth century ethnocentrism, Huebsch's view of the idea of origins, *Rundbogenstil*, gave way to narrower views of national essence and architectural creations that would include nationalistic feelings of superiority and innate intellectual and artistic virtue. In the case of the German states, architectural nationalism in the form of historicism had the ability to appear as an ideological virtue. By means of both repression and resistance, nationalism recreated ideals on both individual and collective level, and in other cases appeared as the driving force of oppressive regimes for the return to origins. In the cases of Greece and Germany, classical antiquity was used as the driving force for the satisfaction of political and nationalistic ends. In the case of Germany, architecture with a reference to the past, served as the founding stone of a fabrication of "heritage", through imitation and copy of architectural elements, like classical entablatures on a steel frame construction, which functioned as the basis of a superior culture. Klenze could be said to follow on Huebsch's lines. He also prefers polymorphy in architecture from the mere copying of classical Greek forms. He designed a city with major avenues running through the city and around it for easy access to the countryside, and ordered statues of famous people from the Greek Revolution of 1821 to decorate the exterior of the buildings.

The symbolic character of architecture in the consciousness of the Greek people was a basic element of national politics. In the case of Greece, fabricated memories and traditions were deployed, in order to give *a sense of the past* and national identity to the people of Greece. With the preservation of the pre-existing classical antiquities on the

Greek soil, architects and politicians were able to make visible the public feeling of “belonging” and transform it into an artistic vocabulary. The whole of the German debate could be seen as another example of the use of architecture for nationalistic purposes and as a tool for the visual expression and depiction of specific kinds of ideologies.

II.5 Greek Neo-classicism

The first decades of the Modern Greek nation were characterised by political turmoil, leading first to the revolution of 1843 that resulted in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and then to the revolt of 1862, which concluded with the abdication of King Otto and his wife Amalia.³⁵ Both the indigenous, autochthon Greeks, and the heterogenous Greeks, who had come from the rest of Europe, believed in the irredentist visions of the “Great Idea” [Megali Idea]. This idea, as I have mentioned before, did not only embrace all Greek-speaking communities but envisioned the incorporation of Constantinople in the Greek nation and the resurrection of the Byzantine Empire. International political developments however, soon revealed the utopian nature of those plans. The reality was that Greece had neither the power nor the support of Europe to carry out an expansionist war against Turkey. In actual fact, English and French powers had occupied the port of Piraeus between 1854 and 1857 in order to force Greece to abandon its military aspirations. This occupation was seen as humiliating by the Greeks who believed in the end of European philhellenism and demonstrated the limited political power of Modern Greece.

The process that secured the position of Athens as the permanent capital and the intellectual centre of the Greek nation was slow. The contemporary archaeophilhellenic sentiment of Europe was evident through the hasty decision to move the capital of Modern Greece to Athens. Constantinople still respectfully called by Greeks, the *Vasilevousa*, the Queen of Cities, remained until well in the 1940s the economic and intellectual leader of the Greek nation-at-large. The capital of the independent Greek state acquired fame

gradually, however mostly during the reign of George I, the Danish-born King who succeeded Otto. A very important point to add here that shows the Greek adherence to Greek history is that the “School of Athens” (the Athenian School of Thought) was not prominent until the late nineteenth century. Otto’s years have been called by many historians as thirty years of circumspection.³⁵

The internal inability of the state was masked under the expensive, monumental architecture that created the new capital. The Athenian neoclassical architecture that adhered to European neoclassical prototypes, bestowed the imprint of permanence both on the newly-established political and cultural institutions and on the city itself. Interestingly though, Athens was considered by many as a temporary capital only, pending the liberation of Constantinople. Yet, this mid-nineteenth century paradox has been obscured by historical hindsight. Unlike the modern reader, the nineteenth century Athenian, was in doubt about the city’s political future once Greece unified.

The extravagant designs for the major buildings- palace, university, parliament, academy, university- represented the country’s ambitions: the length of time required to complete them, however, reflected the country’s actual economic abilities. Money for construction came mostly from private donations, endowments, and organised fundraising among the Greek communities inside and outside the state borders. Most often these funds ran out before a building’s completion and further contributions had to be solicited, delaying construction for years, or even decades. Often the state had to complete a structure that was originally privately financed. The buildings that I am focusing on show how public buildings were incorporated into the urban fabric of Athens and slowly became part of the life of Athenians. Although, as we will see, the press criticised the expensive building projects as they did not address the real problems of the city, posterity justified the new institutions as necessary for the formation of the nation’s political and

³⁵ Otto had married Princess Amalia of Oldenburg in 1836

³⁶ The description of the period as one of circumspection is from Th. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos* (*Greek Romanticism*), Athens: Hermes, 1982:337

cultural image. My focus here lies on the critical period during the architectural metamorphosis of the Ottoman town into a European capital.

While both architecture and planning followed pre-existing prototypes, planning remained directly dependent on the local political conditions and patterns of land ownership, leading to a failure to recreate the foreign paradigms. In contrast, public architecture acquired a truly international image as a result of patronage and financing. Several of the new public buildings shared a common stylistic vocabulary with other European buildings. They carried however, specific symbolic meanings for the Greek population as a function of local history and culture. The analysis of the symbolism of public architecture, further on, will reveal the interpretation of Greek neoclassical architecture in the nineteenth century.

Several of the institutions that Kleanthis and Schaubert had included in their plans remained only on paper. By approving their plans and their later modifications, the government only approved the position of new streets and squares, and the direction of new developments. As it proved later, the Greek government had neither the intentions nor the means, to realize all of the cultural and commercial institutions included in the plan. Moreover, the instability that characterised the political situation at the time obstructed the drafting of a detailed plan for state offices. As Athena (1834) cynically remarks: "It was ordered [in the pan of Athens] that two buildings be erected in Athens, one for the Representatives [Koinovoulion] and one for the Senate [Gerousia]. However, the Greeks first formed the Parliament, and then worried about its building".³⁷ Until the revolution of 1843 Greece had neither a constitution nor a parliament.

An obvious question when examining public building in Athens is whether it was accidental. Based on the symbolic and cultural image that Athens wanted to portray I believe it was hardly accidental. If we compare the role of public buildings to that of the

symbolic and cultural image of Athens, we see that in fact the capital's political role as the seat of government did not receive equal emphasis. None of the seven ministries were housed in appropriate buildings. The parliament itself, the most significant symbol of the constitutional victory of the people, was not completed until 1871, during the reign of King George. The actual political administration of Greece was housed in rented houses and plain government structures, sharing space when necessary with other institutions. Several basic needs were not met: schools, courthouses and the city hall were not realised during Otto's reign. Therefore the fact that the city failed to preserve the above mentioned buildings is testimony to the absence of any long-term plans to meet the city's pragmatic needs.

The reasons behind the need to portray a changed cultural image of Athens were both economic and political. First of all, it is important to remember that money for all major buildings came from wealthy individuals who endowed specific institutions of their choice: cultural institutions were arguably more glamorous, like for example the University, than strictly utilitarian buildings. Moreover the focus on the cultural achievements of modern Athens strengthened the ties of continuity with ancient Athens and hence bridged the past and the present as one cultural tradition. The political implications of this bridge were the continuity of the Greek race and its legitimate right to form an independent nation.

The neoclassical style of many of the new buildings strengthened the bridge with the past. Here is, however, where we must distinguish between the political need of Modern Greece to identify with ancient Greece and the cultural attraction of northern Europe towards classical antiquity. It is at this point as well that my previous discussion of the Greek perception of modern Greece as inherently different from that of Europe can be reinstated. The Greeks' political identification with antiquity proved much stronger than Europe's architectural love-affair and fascination with neoclassicism. The classical

³⁷ Athena 3, no. 188 (17 October 1834). The reference to "the Greeks" here is, presumably to the ancient

austerity of the palace and the university was soon diverted by Byzantine, Renaissance, Baroque and even Gothic elements found in the city's other new buildings. After all, neither Kleanthis nor Schaubert, the protagonists of the city plans, ever described a homogenous city. Fountoulaki (1979)³⁸ mentions that Kleanthis himself explored a varied stylistic vocabulary that seemed to respond primarily to his clients' impulses.

As the city did not reserve space for future structures, it was forced to purchase the necessary land, as the need arose, at market rate. As a result, lengthy searches and bargaining for available land preceded any constructions. In some cases the land was privately donated, usually with some restrictions. Therefore the geometric unity of the plan was not reinforced by any unified architectural scheme, a *via triumphalis*, or a coherent civic centre, as we notice in other plans drafted roughly around the same time either in Paris or Washington. The trilogy of the University, the Academy and the National Library, facing the same street and sharing a similar stylistic vocabulary, is the only notable exception, as we will see in detail in the Urban Planning Chapter.

Four entities controlled the majority of building in modern Athens: the government, the patrons, the architects and to some extent the press. Under the term "government" I include the King, his family and advisors, the regents, until 1843, and the authorities of the appropriate ministries. The role of the architects, although they were employed by the government and the private patrons, deserves separate treatment. The opinion of the public we could assume was voiced through the press and the citizens' committees. I believe that the structure of the building power also reflects the structure of political power, and vice versa. Art and culture, introduced by the architects and the intellectuals, were not independent of this historic process. Through the capital's long

Greeks

³⁸ For an extensive view of Kleanthis' work, see Fountoulaki, Olga, *Stamatios Kleanthis (1802-1862): Ein griechischer Architekt an der Schule Schinkels* (PhD diss., University of Karlsruhe, 1979). Also Vincent Scully, Jr. *Kleanthis and the Duchess of Piacenza*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22, no. 3, October 1963: 139-154.

building process architectural references to Antiquity and Byzantium came to acquire specific political meanings that reinforced the national ideology.

Even though neo-classicism in Greece is mainly connected with nineteenth century Athens, we find earlier examples of Greek neo-classicism in Patra and Ermoupoli (in the island of Syros). This is because Patra and most of the Aegean and Ionian Islands were not yet part of the newly-founded Greek state and were under Italian or French occupation. Therefore in many cities outside Athens and in particular in many Ionian Islands like Corfu and Zante or Aegean islands, like Syros, neo-classicism preceded the Athenian buildings.

The European debate of the time focused on the symbolic nature of architecture and how it could be used to promote the state's political interests. Europe preferred neo-classical architecture for Greece as a form of democratic architecture, a symbolic response to people along with modern influences.

Greek neoclassical architecture was created along the lines of the urban ideal that envisaged the city as a whole with its symbolic dimensions. For instance, Louis Napoleon and Baron Georges-Eugene Hausmann were able to transform Paris in its contemporary form by viewing the city in both its specific features and in its entirety, aiming at the *embellishment* of the city and its transformation *into a city as a monument*.

In Athens the ultimate goal was not only *an architecture for the people*, but an architecture that would reflect the Greek spirit of *Europeanism* and would convert the previous Ottoman regime into a democratic seat of government. Greek neo-classicism could be regarded as the process of nation – building away from the Turkish democratic pretension of the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century German-Danish fabrication of Neo-Greek democracy.

Neo-classical architecture was seen a reflection of the city, a manifestation of the character of its inhabitants. The seen would be a symbol of the unseen and the physical space would be a manifestation of the cultural principles and morals of the society. The architect Francois-Joseph Belanger elaborated on the notion of architecture as the symbolic narrative of a city and a nation:

“These various monuments dictate the major points of a nation's history, of its civilisation, its tastes, its mores, its character, its sensibility, its ideas, and even its opinions...[these monuments] are the honour, glory and pride of the cities that possess them”.³⁹

Monumental gateways placed at regular instances would transform the perimeter of a city like Paris, into a regular polygon. Tree-lined boulevards and monumental *barrieres*, as modern *Propylaea* to a city's entrance pavilions, would have both a symbolic and a functional purpose in Modern Athens. Symbolically they would act as reminders of a grandiose city, revolutionised within the European culture and commerce. The tree-line avenues would provide a shelter to the travellers from the sun and would add to the aesthetic magnificence of the city as a whole, as we will see in the Urban Planning Chapter.

Within the city a number of design techniques were employed to enhance the magnificence of individual monuments. In both Paris and Athens, the architects paid particular attention to the aesthetic shaping of the urban planning. The squares for example were the preferred location for major edifices. They were thought to impart dignity to the sculptural monument placed in their centre. Grand architecture in terms of both vast building dimensions and proportions, and aesthetic quality, were the essence of every neoclassical city. Grand architecture meant vast dimensions and proportions appearing as a big mass with few horizontal divisions, rather than human scale dimensions divided by many floors.

In both Athens and Paris, of great importance were the colours of buildings to reflect festive character, probing and richness. At this point we can mention the white colour on all the monumental buildings of Athens, Berlin and Paris, the three major neo-classical cities, and the emphasis on golden colour for the major decorative parts of their state buildings. Additional colours of red, blue and green were preferred especially for the decoration of the walls and friezes of the monumental buildings with themes from antiquity.⁴⁰

All the neoclassical monumental buildings had to present intelligibility, a *caractere*, through appropriate architectural expression. The architectural composition of public and private buildings would give the city's character. In nineteenth century Greece, architects, while seeking an appropriate expression, invented the pluralism of different architectural styles originating from various historical and cultural styles. We can find examples of this process if we look at Athens in general and in detail. The particular building of the National Library is a very good example of this mix of styles and architecture. (Pl. 7) The National Library, built in 1884, by von Hansen, was a mixture of different architectural styles. The main body of the building is neoclassical, whereas the staircases are high Renaissance, for a more artistic effect. The basic structure has a very simple design with two levels and a basement at the front of the building. The building has a Greek revival portico with themes from the classical antiquity.⁴¹

Moving from the particular to the general, New Athens' urban plan was an interesting mixture of different styles intertwined to produce a national image. Neo-classical buildings co-existed with Byzantine ones, like the Athenian Trilogy in the centre of town and Byzantine Churches. This was because as we have already noted, Christian beliefs and local traditions were equally appreciative of the classical heritage. Hence

³⁹ Etlin, Richard. *Symbolic Space, French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, The University of Chicago Press, 1994: 3

⁴⁰ A more elaborate analysis of the effect of colour on the perceiver is presented in the discussion of Architecture and Space, in the last part of this thesis.

⁴¹ A detailed analysis of the National Library will be given in the second part of this chapter.

Greek neo-classicism as an idea was not purely an imitation of the ancient way of life or of their art. It was rather a mixture of different styles that addressed different traditions and ideas that were integral part of the Modern Greek culture and identity.

Hansen⁴² was responsible for many other buildings in Athens like the Observatory, the Church of Greece, the Academy, the Zappeion, and the summer Royal Residence of George I' in 1887. Examining his work in Vienna, we can safely suggest that he has followed the same trilogy of buildings in both Vienna and Athens of the University, the Academy and the National Library, in order to emphasise the symbolic character of these buildings. Several parallels can be drawn from Hansen's work in Vienna and Athens in terms of both architectural design and symbolic function.

II.6 Further Debates on Style

Many different Bavarian, Prussian and Danish architects were involved in the building of Modern Athens. In the designs of these architects we can see the architectural debates of the time. Those of the Greek architects who were involved at a later stage, like Panages Kalkos and Harmodios Vlachos, who designed the Archaeological Museum, had also been educated abroad.

Klenze, whose design was accepted, greatly influenced the later monumental building of Athens. Klenze followed on the lines of Hirt. He was also focused on the Bavarian model of classical antiquity. In his first urban design of Athens, Klenze focused on the narrow streets and alleys with a fortification around the city of Athens. On the decoration of monumental buildings Klenze projected his obsession with classical Greek motifs, such as themes from antiquity on the friezes, golden anthemions on all the

⁴² Another example of the process of mixing different architectural styles together can also be found in Vienna, in the Ringstrasse. Along the wide green belt of the Ringstrasse a number of majestic buildings were erected in various period styles. The Votivkirche (1856) by Heinrich von Ferstel in Gothic architecture, the Opera (1861) by August Siccard in free Renaissance, the Town Hall (1872) by Friedrich von Schmidt in symmetrical Gothic, the Museums (1872) by Semper in Renaissance to baroque, the Academy in

buildings, and marble from the Penteliko Mount for the construction of the buildings. In his plans he included Theseion and Keramikos within the garden of the palace and other archaeological sites within main state buildings.

The inappropriateness of Klenze's design for the city of Athens can also be seen in his anachronistic ideas about the space syntax of modern Athens and the need for fortification of the new palace. In his book "Plan for the New City of Athens, by Leon Von Klenze"⁴³, Klenze expressed his eagerness to build the new "City of Otto", on the hills of Philopappous and Pnix, two of the most important archaeological sites of fifth century BC Athens. His plan was based on small roads and passages with many circular squares around the major archaeological sites. Further influenced by eighteenth century ideas on the fortification of towns and cities, he objected the original plan of Schaubert and Kleanthis, as he believed their design left the city open to foreign invasion due to the complex of streets leading in many different directions and the openings to the outskirts of Athens. Klenze therefore changed the direction of many major avenues within the city, most importantly Stadiou Avenue, which at the time was the main avenue running through the city, and planned the city within an enclosure of one main avenue running in four main directions: to Piraeus, Sepolia, Patisia and towards the extension of Athinas Street, disregarding the way to Phaliron. Klenze tried to rally the city to the south of the ancient city, likewise the towns of the west of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "His plan was against evolution and development as Kleanthis and Schaubert had envisaged ...Klenze had designed a closed monolithic settlement. Instead of a new European capital, that looked towards the future, as the Macedonian architect had envisioned Athens, his lavish foreign colleague, designed a new town, looking backwards, towards western medievalism".⁴⁴ In addition, Klenze intentionally excluded the Byzantine monuments at

Renaissance, the Parliament in pure Grecian all by von Hansen, and, the University by Ferstel in mixed Italian and French sixteenth century style.

⁴³ further references can be found in Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona (Athens from the 19th to the 20th centuries)*, Melissa Publications, 1995.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 1995: 39 (my translation from Greek)

Kapnikarea, and designed Hermou Street in such a way that it would proceed with the demolition of the site, in contrast to Kleanthis who had designed Hermou Street in such a way that would emphasize the site of Kapnikarea. At this point, it is imperative to emphasise the importance of the Byzantine past to the Greeks and those who came from abroad. For the Greeks, their Byzantine past was the missing link between classical antiquity and modernity. For the Europeans and more specifically for the Bavarians, Prussians and Danish who were involved in the building of Athens, the Byzantine past was simply a style that did not reach any kind of perfection. Klenze's intention was to create a new historical era for Otto, a third stage of the historical development of the city, like the Classical Greek, the Roman and the Ottoman period. He tried to achieve that by neglecting the medieval times and suggested the demolition of all the surrounding medieval buildings of the Acropolis. He further emphasised the importance of Classical Athens by initiating a major conservation project that would preserve and restore the classical antiquities. Indeed after the royal decree of 10/22 February 1834, the Acropolis was no longer a fortress and thus the restoration of the Parthenon could begin.

Klenze represented the opposition to Huebsch, as he believed in the adoption of the Greek style for any kind of building and most importantly for state architecture. Klenze was not concerned whether this would obstruct progress and creativity. In 1842 Kugler, another critic involved in the debate about style, in one of his articles in the journal *Museum*, rejected both styles, the imitation of Greek forms by Klenze and the new system styles based on "technical elements of construction", by Huebsch. Kugler called for a style that would be based on a nation's religious sensitivity. Others later followed the trend of re-examining and re-interpreting Gothic architecture: the *German* style. Despite differences in the way each trend dealt with architecture, all had the same aim: "...to work towards the establishment of an architectural style that would be a unique representation of all material and nonmaterial factors that formed the character of their own time. Reviewing the past, they found that "every period and every nation had attained its characteristic style" and that in consequence "modern art must be a clear expression of the

present". This they said was now universally demanded".⁴⁵

The intervening theme of this debate however, was based on the appreciation of the Greeks. Even those, who were opposed to the strict imitation of Greek form, declared their appreciation of Greek art:

"Indeed they believed with Huebsch that no other nations lavished such fine qualities on its monuments" as the Greeks did during the age of Pericles and with, Rosenthal, that no other nation had come so close to the acme of perfection".⁴⁶

On the opposite side were those who were in favour of some kind of religious mysticism, of a religious expression through architecture. In 1839, Rudolf Wiegmann, another academic involved in the debate on style, suggested that many recent buildings pointed to the creation of *Rundbogenstil*.⁴⁷ Even though he believed that it could not be transplanted directly to the present yet, he admitted that it had been interrupted by outside influences and therefore "could still be applied to meet ...spiritual and material needs".⁴⁸ The opposition to the idea of imitating the Greeks or Gothic Cathedrals came from those who believed that the style of the Greeks and the Gothic cathedrals "had run its full course and, like the Greek style, had died a natural death. The revival of either style...is impossible".⁴⁹ The overall perception of Greek and Roman architecture was an architectural style that could serve as a model in order to create an equally useful

⁴⁵ Herrmann, Wolfgang. *In what style should we build?*, Getty Institute Publications, 1992: 9

⁴⁶ Ibid. 1992:10

⁴⁷ Huebsch mentions on Rundbogenstil that it was a style of architecture that appeared as a postclassical style. During the nineteenth century, as the rapid growth of industry transformed life in both America and Europe, many new churches and public buildings were designed in an imposing style based upon medieval and early Christian models. This new style was known either as the Rundbogenstil (round arch) or Romanesque Revival, in Rome, Karlsruhe, and the Munich of Ludwig I and charts its spread from Germany to London and the United States, where it shaped the design of such landmarks as Trinity Church in Boston and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The new style that Huebsch was proposing although it would be similar to Rundbogenstil it would be unimpeded by the harmful reminiscences of the ancient style since it would develop freely and spontaneously.

⁴⁸ Herrmann, Wolfgang. *In what style should we build?*, Getty Institute Publications, 1992: 11

⁴⁹ Ibid. 1992: 11

architecture that would be true to the needs of the people just as Greek architecture was true to the needs of contemporary Greeks. Johann Heinrich Wolff suggested that Greek art could not be applied unless it underwent further development. His argument for this was the inadequacy of the Greek style for Christian churches, great halls and other industrial buildings. Architecture was perceived as an evolutionary organism that would inevitably evolve and would become greater than its original shape and form. As a living organism it is perceived through different senses and experienced through the familiarity and use of it.

Architecture adapts to different environments and satisfies different needs and aspirations. In the years before the 1840s, there was an absolute domination of ancient models that acted as prototypes for the creation of modern art and architecture. In Greece the prominent Ancient Greek past acts as the foundation stone and the standard for the appreciation and creation of contemporary art and architecture. However, in order for Modern Greeks to evolve they had to break free from the inheritance of the ancient world and create a new heritage addressing contemporary needs: “we architects often find it necessary, in view of the wide range of present needs and different purposes, to relinquish the fine simplicity of Greek architecture (...) whose accomplished forms we cannot apply everywhere unless they are further developed in the spirit of the Greeks”.⁵⁰

Nineteenth century Greece provided the ground for the Great Powers of Europe to restore the faith of the world in Greek architecture. Modern Greeks were seen as the means through which the European powers could display to the rest of the world their appreciation of the Ancient Greek culture and their ability to design according to the quality standards set by the Ancient Greeks. Evidence of the idea of Greek artistic supremacy can be found in Wolff where he further states that “a true work of Art could not possibly rise from any other than the Greek spirit”.⁵¹ The standards set by the Greeks in tectonics, material-construction, austerity, sensibility and power were the attributes to

⁵⁰ Johann Heinrich Wolf, *Polemisches:Enteignung*, Allgemeine Bauzeitung, Literatur Beilage 1843: 1

⁵¹ Ibid. 1843: 4

their artistic supremacy. In particular the two factors of material and construction were central to the discussion of style. There was criticism of Klenze's adherence to classical forms by claiming that despite the perfection of Greek art and architecture there is no need to continue to design according to the antique style: "Greek architecture can serve us as a model, not for imitating their works without further ado, but for creating true and original works that will be as appropriate to our needs, our way of feeling and thinking, our religion and morality, and our material and climate as those created by the Hellenes were appropriate to their conditions".⁵²

Others like Wolff, in support of Klenze's designs, called his opponents "ignorant architects who live under the delusion that existing architectural forms...evolved by a nation of the highest intellectual standards, are unsuitable for our period. These architects, calling Greek and Roman architecture pagan and un-Christian, maintain that different trends should be pursued and even deem themselves destined to break ground for our art".⁵³

In the years that followed Greek liberation from the Turks, the European Powers saw Greece "in a state of barbarism". Ottoman architecture and culture was not yet been and it was thought to be repressive of the Greek spirit and culture. The degradation of the Ancient Greek culture and the looting and selling of antiquities to collectors around Europe persuaded many scholars to talk about "the barbaric offspring of the world", in direct opposition to "the climax of a long historical development, the highest point that human civilisation had ever reached ...(and which) must remain the base for our art".⁵⁴

The whole process of rebuilding Athens involved the very use of building material from the same sources as in antiquity. Therefore, as we have already mentioned, white

⁵² Wiegmann, Rudolf, *Polemisches*, Zeitschrift für praktische, Baukunst 2, 1842: 499

⁵³ Wolff, Johann Heinrich. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Literature Beilage 1842: 451. Klenze's *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe* was published in 1830 in Munich. Wolf apparently reviewed the first three articles of Klenze.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 1843: 336

marble from Penteliko Mount was chosen as the main building material. In their search for *truthfulness* the European powers assigned particular importance to the material which was to represent one of the foremost architectural principles. Therefore “any material-blocks of stone, bricks, timber, and even iron-might be used, as long as one bore in mind that the nature of the available material was the principal basis for generating form...(They all sought).. to return to the original source and to follow the chief guides in our art which are the construction and the nature of the material”.⁵⁵ Following the line of *perfection* most state buildings of nineteenth century Athens, were neo-classical in style but with an iron structure. The structural changes that would result from the new material would present buildings with “slim and graceful contours, striving upward, strong or delicate according to circumstances, and invariably intersecting the horizontal lines”.⁵⁶

The new material gave a new dimension to architectural design and created a style of *absolute strength*: “...styles are classified according to the structural force that emanates from the material...only three forces could be used architecturally-relative, reactive and absolute strength. Since the relative strength of the material was the principle of the Greek style and reactive strength that of the Gothic style, it was obvious that a new style could evolve only after the introduction of a material in which the third and so far unused force, namely absolute strength, was active..such material was iron”.⁵⁷ This new approach to iron however did not extenuate the universal validity of Hellenic forms. It was still believed that the new forms had to accord with the principles of the Hellenic style. These principles dictated a monumental style, structural unity, austerity, tectonics, power, sensibility, serenity, perfect equilibrium, simply presented in the way the horizontal load of the entablature is held up by the vertical supports of the columns. The new condition of designing and building was not *imitation* but *implementation* of the Greek principles to a modern style that would address new standards of living and satisfy contemporary needs.

⁵⁵ Wolff, Johann.Heinrich. *Ein Prinzip und Keine Partein*, Allgemeine Bauzeitung II, 1846: 359

⁵⁶ Metzger, Eduard. *Beitrag zur Zeitfrage:In welchem Stil man bauen soll?*, Allgemeine Bauzeitung 10, 1845: 169-179

⁵⁷ Ibid. 1845: 119

Public buildings in Athens were designed based on different levels of understanding: firstly as a narrative of state-of-the-art theories of number and proportion, secondly as a testimony of the loyalty of the design to nature and thirdly as the necessity to modify pure geometrical forms and distort nature in order to be apprehended by human perception. In other words, the neoclassical buildings of nineteenth century Athens represent state architecture prescribed in equal parts by divine *and* human requirements. Athenian neoclassical architecture was a great expression not only of the spirit of the Greeks of the nineteenth century but also of the artistic intention of Europe at the time. Its impact was felt beyond the walls of neoclassical Athens. Several silent characteristics of the neoclassical building program contributed to its long-standing effect. The most obvious of all was the conscious connection with and articulation of the specific history of nineteenth century neoclassical Athens. This can be seen initially in the urban planning of Athens where all the Ancient Greek antiquities were included. More specifically the decorative motifs on all public buildings also reveal the intentional character of the building. Hence in an effort to recreate the grandeur of classical civilisation, nineteenth century Athens included all those architectural and artistic elements that gave her a classical character as we will see in detail in the second part of the discussion.

II.7 The Athenian Buildings (Part Two)

II.7a The Government

The government played an important role in the building of modern Athens. The King, his advisors, and the ministers were usually the ones to decide on the building type, site and the architect of the new structure. The decision to erect a new building was announced in the Government Gazette as was the appointment of a committee in charge of fundraising and construction. In most cases, the King and his advisors were responsible for the appointment of an architect. The actual construction was carried out by Bavarian and Greek contractors and was supervised by the building committee. Otto also intended to direct architectural education. This is why in the early years of Otto's rule, the title "architect" – "tekton or architekton" referred to builders who had been apprenticed under other master builders. The contemporary journal, *Athena*, provides us with examples of illiterate architects who had little or no academic education.⁵⁸ As early as 1836 the government announced the institution of a practical architecture school to meet on week ends and to be staffed by high school teachers, architects and other educated foreigners who were in Greece at the time. The opening lines of the decree which were published in the Government Gazette summarised the position that architecture enjoyed among the Bavarian administrators: "Considering the influence of architecture on political life in general [and] respecting the historical memories that are especially connected with Greece....[we propose the establishment of a building school]".⁵⁹ The first school of architecture was directed by the head engineer, Friedrich von Zentner, and was an elementary school for the arts.⁶⁰ Christian Hansen and his brother Theophil, were also

⁵⁸ See for example *Athena* 6, no.448 (26 June 1837) and *Athena* 6, no. 486 (10 November 1837) where in both cases the architects requested to sign in an auction admitted that they were illiterate and thus used a proxy sign as their signature.

⁵⁹ December 1836/12 January 1837 FEK, no. 82, 1836

⁶⁰ For a detailed account of architectural education in Greece, see Mpiris, Kostas, *Historia tou Ethnikou Metsoviou Polytechniou [History of the national Technical University, Athens]*, Athens: National Technical University, 1956. See also von Zentner, F. *Das Königreich Griechenlands in Hinsicht auf Industrie und Agrikultur* (Augsburg, 1844) cited in Mpiris, *ibid*: 25.

among the instructors. The school was dissolved in 1843, with the decree that ordered the termination of employment of foreigners in state positions.

In 1844 the Royal School of Art (Polytechnic) was formed under the direction of Lysandros Kaftanzoglou. Kaftanzoglou (1811-1885) had studied architecture in the Academy of San Luca in Rome (1827-1836). One of his projects, the design of a Panhellenic Monument, was submitted to the École des Beaux Arts in 1836, where it received a favourable criticism.⁶¹ Paradoxically though, the Polytechnic school did not offer any architecture courses at all, concentrating rather on the visual arts. Internal disagreements and lack of co-ordination between the school and the state were probably at the root of the problem. Kaftanzoglou criticised the government for mismanaging the Polytechnic's funds, while the government accused him for failing to incorporate architecture in the curriculum, the main reason for establishing the school in the first place. After repeated criticism Kaftanzoglou was forced to step down in 1862.⁶²

Finally, the government organised celebrations that marked the beginning of new structures. Like historic and religious anniversaries, building ceremonies were intended to forge the idea of the Greek nation and to reinforce the authority of the government. Before the Revolution, the idea of a unified Greek nation did not exist and authority was decentralised. At this point I would like to suggest that the political definition of Modern Greece predated its definition in the consciousness of the Greek citizens. This view is supported by Kyriakidou-Nestoros, who in her analysis of Greek folklore aptly described the goal of the first romantic Greek folklorists who organised local customs: their goal

⁶¹ Petridou Vasiliki. *He Paideia kai ho theoretikos provlematismos tou Lysandrou Kaftanzoglou* [The education and theoretical preoccupations of Lysandros Kaftanzoglou], *Neoclassiki Poli kai Architectoniki* [Neoclassical City and Architecture]: Proceedings of the Symposium, Thessaloniki, 2-4 December 1983, Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki 1983: 216. Petridou's paper offers the best discussion of Kaftanzoglou's theoretical foundations, unfortunately however there is no visual record of Kaftanzoglou's design of the Panhellenic Monument.

⁶² Mpiris, *Historia tou EMP*, 19-151.

was the creation of the idea of a national character (emphasis in the original).⁶³ Similarly I consider the role of public architecture: it had to define the idea of “national architecture” as an expression of national identity and character. The architectural vocabulary defined national architecture. The public celebrations for major buildings moulded the national character and ultimately, the construction of the university, palace and parliament buildings helped strengthen the government’s political and cultural power in Greece.



II.7b The University of Athens (Pl. 2)

Soon after Otto’s arrival in Greece, a committee of educators was appointed to analyse existing conditions and make suggestions for educational institutions.⁶⁴ The guidelines for elementary and secondary education were established in 1834 and 1836. The decision to establish a university was made in 1837. The educational system was organised along the lines of late eighteenth century German prototypes which were rooted in the Greek classics. That was not only due to the particular conditions in Greece, but also to the wide respect that the German system enjoyed at the time.⁶⁵ Therefore the classical Greek curriculum was re-introduced by the German court. Structured after the German universities, the Greek university consisted of four schools: theology, law, medicine, and philosophy, the last covering the rest of the fields.⁶⁶ The university curriculum focused more on humanities and classical studies. Higher education was open to graduates of the gymnasium only. The university was only for the few as it was inspired by ideals and theories that did not reflect the pragmatic needs of the new state. After the royal palace, the university was the next important civic structure to be erected. It

⁶³ Kyriakidou-Nestoro, Alke, *He theoria ths Ellhnikis Laografias [Theory of the Greek Folklore]* 3d ed. Vol.6 Bibliothiki Genikis Paideias, Athens: Etaireia Spudon Neoellhnikou Politismou kai Genikhs Paideias, 1978:32

⁶⁴ Voulgares, N.T. *To Vasileion ths Hellados kai h Ellhinikh Olomeleia [The kingdom of Greece and the Greek Complete Membership]*, Corfu 1862:180-181

⁶⁵ Everything down to the terminology used for schools was adopted from the German: Volksschule: scholeion tou laou, Lateinische Schule: Hellenikon scholeion [Greek school], Gymnasium: gymnasium. Historia, vol. 13:485

represented the centralised nature of education under the auspices of the government. Stylistically, the university reinforced the neoclassical solemnity of the palace.

Although pro-European, the government was interested in confirming its architectural taste by holding an open competition. The process of construction was open to the public as was announced in the papers. Along with new forms of architecture, came a new ideology of building whereby public structures were now open for inspection. The architectural debate about the construction of the building was open to the public and people were allowed to visit the site and see the building progress. Large-scale buildings, like the University, provided a case study for the creation of a building and construction pamphlet named *Responsibilities Regarding the Building of the University*.⁶⁷ From the press coverage of the construction of the University, we can note the heated competition between Greek and Bavarian contractors. So far for most of the neo-classical buildings of Athens, Bavarian contractors were preferred as they were considered more experienced in building construction:

“The European response to the building of the University was one of great admiration: the building of the University is magnificent and solid, but still unfinished. The lecture rooms and the dean’s office constitute the lower floor: on the second floor is the reading room, the library (..) and storage for the natural science experiments. The reading room (..) is lit from the ceiling, which is all made out of etched glass, worked with great taste”.⁶⁸

The construction of the University of Athens started in July 1839. (Ch.3, Pl.21/Y) Christian Hansen was the responsible architect who designed a neo-classical building with “elements of simplicity and the imposing presence of antiquity”.⁶⁹ Christian Hansen had

⁶⁶ See articles in *Historia*, vol.13:485 and *Pandora*, 16. 15 January 1866: 472

⁶⁷ *Athena Magazine*, 31 May 1839, vol. 8, no. 620

⁶⁸ Harilaos, Emmanouel. *Odoiporikon Magazine*, no. 4, May 1840

⁶⁹ Mpiris, Kostas. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou Aiona (Athens from the nineteenth to the twentieth century)*, Melissa Publications, 1996:118

been in Greece since 1833.⁷⁰ He had studied in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen under G.F. Hetsch⁷¹ and in 1831 he was awarded a travelling fellowship which allowed him to travel to Rome, southern Italy and Sicily and finally Greece. He stayed in Greece for 23 years.⁷² *Athena* magazine mentions that Kleanthis had also made a plan for a university, “which greatly appealed to those with architectural knowledge”.⁷³ Apparently however, the committee did not consider Kleanthis’ scheme and proceeded to publish Hansen’s plan in a fund raising announcement for the university. *Athena*, maintained that the building program was better met by Kleanthis.⁷⁴ It is not surprising that the Greek press would favour Kleanthis’ work: it is worth mentioning though, that the design of public buildings did concern the press and that at least some of the plans were made available to the press.⁷⁵ However, the fact that some of the building plans were made public and thus subjected to the criticism from the press, is not enough to support the argument that the planning of modern Athens was considered a public affair, as the last word lay with the King and in some cases the government.

The University is Hansen’s most important contribution to the Greek landscape, as it forms part of the Trilogy of Athens and it was the first official educational institution of Modern Athens. Hansen had previously worked on the restoration of the Temple of Athena on the Acropolis with Edward Schaubert and Ludwig Ross (1835-1837). This is why perhaps we can see his clear admiration for ancient Greek architecture in the university. The main elevation of the building is stripped down classicism with unadorned

⁷⁰ “At the time there was in Athens the Danish architect Hansen who came to Greece in 1830 in order to visit and study the Parthenon, but for 9 whole years he forgot himself, seeing and studying the works of Pheidia and the beautiful sky” Pandora 16, 1 February 1866, *To en Athenais Othoneion Panepistemion (Otto’s University of Athens)*, 1866:474. Also see Haugsted, Ida. *The Architect Christian Hansen and the Greek neoclassicism, Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek*, no.4, 1980:73

⁷¹ For further information on the work of Hetsch and other Danish architects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Jorgensen, B. Lisbet, *The Copenhagen School of Classicism, Architectural Design* 57, no.3/4 (1987), issue title *Neoclassical Architecture in Copenhagen and Athens*, Jorgensen, Lisbet and Porphyrios, Dimitri, eds.

⁷² Ibid. 33

⁷³ *Athena* 8, no.602, 22 March 1839

⁷⁴ *Athena* 8, no.604, 5 April 1839

⁷⁵ During my research I did not come across any specific plan attributed to Kleanthis with certainty. Up to date there is no published material on Kleanthis’ work that mentions his plans for the university either.

piers rather than an actual order. The exception to this is in the portico where the central two columns are Ionic. His archaeological work might have been an inspiration for his design judging by the central Ionic columns of the portico which resemble the ones of Athena Nike. (Pl. 3).

When Hansen left Greece in 1850 the university building was still unfinished. It was not completed until 1864.⁷⁶ The funding for the construction of the University was problematic, as there was no official agent to handle the building costs. Most of the building was ready by 1843 due to fund-raising work and donations by the Greek people.⁷⁷ Later, King Otto offered funding for the building of the facade, and the Galaziou⁷⁸ family offered 200 further tons of timber.⁷⁹ In 1846, Greeks who lived abroad made further donations, and thus the construction of the University was completed.

At the front of the building he formed a colonnade with rectangular columns, in the middle of which there is an entrance portico with two Ionic columns in antis. (Pl. 2) The painted frieze of the whole of the building is decorated with a classical theme, on the birth of art and sciences in Ancient Greece. (Pls. 4 & 5)

The building had two floors connected with a grand staircase in the middle of the building. On the ground floor were most of administrative offices with two lecture rooms at the back and a smaller one at the west wing of the building. For the study of Botany the architect had left two spacious rooms for the cultivation of plants. The colonnades in the centre of the plan provide the corridors on either side of the central space. (Pls. 6 & 7)

On the first floor were additional administrative offices, along with a library and study rooms for the students. Even though there are no significant historical records with

⁷⁶ Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*, 116-120

⁷⁷ Ibid. *Ai Athinai*

⁷⁸ The Galaziou family was among the wealthiest families in Greece. Most members of the family had been educated abroad and spent most of the Greek War for Independence in France.

⁷⁹ Ibid. *Ai Athinai*

an accurate and detailed account of the uses of spaces, still we can assume that most teaching took place in the ground floor. Hansen had designed a very functional building as he had allowed access to the building from the front and the back where most lecture rooms were, avoiding in this way further congestion.

For the decoration and wall paintings Bavarian artists were appointed. Karl Rahl, who did most of the work, started working at the monument in 1861, much later than Otto's time. Later, in 1888, a Polish painter, Lembetsky, was appointed to finish the work of Rahl. As Mpiris and Kontaratos⁸⁰ note, statues of great warriors of the War for Independence, like Kolokotronis, and intellectuals, like Rigas Ferraïos, were to decorate the inside and outside of the building, along with statues from the classical antiquity. The colourful decoration and mythological theme emphasized intellectualism and free thought.

The University, as part of the Athenian Trilogy, was situated in between the hill of Lycavitos and the Acropolis. (Ch.3, Pl.21/Y) The Greek government considered the building one of the most beautiful and appropriate monuments in Athens.⁸¹ The building itself, visually matched the surrounding antiquities and was built from the same Penteliko marble, as its ancient counterparts.

The establishment of the University was one of the most important events in the history of nineteenth century Greece. The new buildings were thought to re-enact the cultural climate of ancient Greece, with symbolic references to Plato and Aristotle. Hence, we could suggest that Hansen designed the envelope for Bavaria's political task: to appear as a civilising European power that had appreciated the greatness of Ancient Greece. Nineteenth century Athens was the great experiment of a civilisation that had no previous recollection of their past but had managed to create a new identity, which was the mixture

⁸⁰ For further references on the exterior decoration of the Athenian neo-classical buildings see Kontaratos, Spyros. *Architecture and Tradition*, Kastaniotis Publications, Greece 1986.

⁸¹ Ibid. 1996. Mpiris further notes how the University was often mentioned in Otto's speeches as one of the greatest building projects ever undertaken in Athens at the time. However, there are no bibliographic references to further support this argument.

of old and new traditions. The new building was the reminder of classical Athens, both at home and abroad. As Dimaras notes, there was one significant mission of the university: the transmission of the “lights” of western civilisation to the East. Metampadefse⁸², the transmission of “lights”, knowledge and culture, by Greece to the Orient was a specific goal of the Bavarian administration, stated clearly by Maurer in 1835 with his proposal of a university.⁸³ Therefore the building of the University was a claim to cultural hegemony over the Orient, and specifically Turkey. In addition, the building of the University was to signify the dominion of Athens as the centre of letters and sciences in the Balkan region.⁸⁴ Moreover, as far as the European Powers were concerned the building of the University expressed a western cultural hegemony over Greece by spreading western European knowledge and culture there.



II.7c The Academy (Pl. 8)

The creation of an Academy was greatly favoured in places like Constantinople, the Ionian Islands and Bucharest. An Academy was considered the meeting place of all scientific communities. In Athens however, where there was no established scientific community. The creation of an Academy was a commitment to the advancement of European civilisation. On the other hand, the fact that it was left in the hands of private donors indicates that the government did not consider the institution of the academy critical. The Academy was created as an institution of advanced learning and research in the arts and sciences. It differed from the University as membership was honorary.⁸⁵ Educated Greeks who lived abroad saw the creation of the Academy as an opportunity to

⁸² Dimaras, Th. *Hellenikos Romantismos*: 349-350

⁸³ Georg Ludwig von Maurer, *Das griechische Volk in öffentlicher, kirchlicher und privatechlitcher Beziehung vor und nach dem Freiheitskampfe bis zum 31 Juli 1834* (Heidelberg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1835) Greek translation Olga Rombaki, Athens: Tolides, 1976: 421

⁸⁴ Argyros, A, *Istoria ton Athinon apo ton archaiotaton xronon mechri ths simeron* (*History of Athens from the earliest years until today*), Athens, 1867:193. The importance of the university of Athens in the Orient and the Balkan peninsula was also attested by Bruno Lavagini, *Grecia 1859 Nel Diario di Francesco Crispi*, Palermo, 1967:42

⁸⁵ The Academy did not grant degrees in higher education as the University did.

restore the country's ancient fame. Language was one of the most important tools for the enlightenment process. Two major currents were developed though putting to the test Greek language. On the one hand there was the strong classicising literary movement, supported by many eighteenth-century scholars who were in favour of replacing the spoken Greek language with the classicising language which had its foundations in ancient Greece. This way, they believed they reinforced their ties with the glorious past. Europe however, although they admired the Greco-Roman civilisations, only made limited use of Latin, emphasising in this way their vernacular dialects. This encouraged the other language movement, the modernists, who insisted that vernacular Greek should be respected, studied and propagated. From the start of the linguistic debate it was believed that a solution should have been taken democratically, especially among the body of scholars who formed an academy.⁸⁶

The new Academy would have the name “Academic Office”, or “Prytaneum” (Mpiris 1996). In 1856, Simon Sinas, a wealthy Greek who lived in Vienna, committed to the financial support for the construction of the Academy. Sinas entrusted the design to Theophil Hansen, who was employed in Vienna at the time. Hansen had previously designed the Royal Observatory on the Hill of the Nymphs in 1846, with a mixture of Renaissance and neo-classical-inspired details. The location of the Academy was to be near the Temple of Hephaistos⁸⁷, a classical Greek temple, in order to enhance its cultural significance. The temple of Hephaistos represented knowledge and craftsmanship. In Ancient Greece Hephaistos was associated with lighting and the mastering of technological and scientific knowledge. The Academy of Arts and Sciences in Athens was also to represent knowledge. In Greek mythology, knowledge and innovation were described as the earthy fire which promotes and sustains civilisations. Hephaistos was not a God of external beauty like the rest of the Olympians. In fact he had a severe deformity

⁸⁶ For further information on the language debate see Dimaras, Th. *Neoellhnikos Diafotismos (Modern Greek Enlightenment)*, Athens: Hermes, 1977:317-318. At the beginning of the twentieth century it was agreed that “dimotiki” (spoken) would be the official language of the state, while all state texts would be written by decree, in the classicising language.

⁸⁷ The myth of Hephaistos is given in Appendix B.

which made him unpopular among the other Olympian Gods. Therefore, in order to overcome his disability, he tried to seek comfort and security from within. Wisdom, prudence and circumspection guided his will and transformed his mind. The Greeks, as a metaphorical Hephaistos, had to turn within themselves to find their true potential despite their illiteracy, poverty and appalling living environment. Despite their apparent difficulties they yearned for cultural transformation. Public architecture was the continuation of the Greeks' classical inheritance, *to advance from within*. The secret impulse would emerge as a vision and the Modern Greeks would hold to its manifestation in reality. The Academy, in proximity to the temple of Hephaistos represented *will, prudence and wisdom*. Hephaistos, tried to break out of his external ugliness by creating many different artefacts in order to display his creative genius. Like a modern Hephaistos, Modern Greeks would acquire knowledge and create a new material culture, a New Modern Greek nation. Hephaistos as a technological man had a secret spiritual goal to transform science and thereby transform himself. His temple and the new Academy of the Arts and Sciences represent work, order, limits, learning, history, continuity, survival and endurance. The Academy offered the pragmatic tool for the drive to inquire, quest, search and question for a better life. The symbolic reference of the Temple of Hephaistos represents the power of knowledge and hard work to overcome difficulties. Like Hephaistos who made a crutch to lean on and support him on work, Modern Greeks would lean on the new academic institutions of Athens to acquire the knowledge to progress.

(Pl. 8)

The proposal however to build the Academy close to the Temple of Hephaistos was severely criticised in local magazines like *Philopatris*, which saw the Academy's proximity to the classical antiquities as a building site opening on the archaeological zone. In addition the "architecture of the new building would fade next to the testimonies of classical architecture".⁸⁸

The final location of the Academy was chosen in Klenze's plan.⁸⁹ (Ch.3, Pl.21/A2) According to his plan the boulevard that connected the Acropolis with the Greek Cathedral would divide the city into its commercial and cultural centres. The Academy would be situated in the cultural part of the city, close to the existing classical antiquities. The municipality of Athens and Petrakis Monastery, who owned large part of it, donated the land in an effort to actively involve the Church in the construction of Modern Athens. On the occasion the city council wrote that "considering that the Academy, to be erected on University Square, will become an agent of the greatest ethical and material value for the municipality and the nation, contributing furthermore to the beautification of the city, and believing that it is for the profit of the municipality to support any work that contributes to the ethical and material development of the nation.. decided unanimously to donate the lot".⁹⁰

Hansen as the architect of the Academy had absolute freedom in designing and decorating. In his effort to construct an equally inspired and admirable monument as the Parthenon, and the other antiquities surrounding the chosen location of the monuments, he placed great emphasis on the outer construction and decoration of the building, rather than its functional provisions.

The whole of the building is in Ionic style, with white marble for the columns and marble from Piraeus for the bases. The structure has an amphiprostyle Ionic temple in the central block. The two lateral wings are connected to the main building by a corridor, which in its proportions is set off by its Ionian entrance and large pediment. (Pl. 9) The entrance has decorative elements derived from the eastern side of the Erechtheion, on the Acropolis. The decoration of the capital has the birth of Athena and on the two extravagant pillars at the front of the building there are statues of Apollo and Athena.

⁸⁸ *Philopatris* no. 86, 12 January 1857, cited in Laios Georgios, *Simon Sinas*, Athens Publications, 1972: 149-151

⁸⁹ A detailed presentation of all the monumental buildings in question and their position in all the plans for Athens designed by Kleanthis and Klenze, is presented in the Urban Planning Chapter

⁹⁰ Archive of the City of Athens. *Proceedings of the City Council*, no.67/29 July 1859.

(Pl.10) The use of the Erechtheion as the inspiration for the portico is symbolic when examined together with the statues of Apollo and Athena. The Erechtheion on the Acropolis in Athens is a temple dedicated jointly to Athena and Poseidon-Erechtheus, located on the site of the legendary contest between the two gods. In addition, the projection of the statues of Apollo and Athena takes us back to the aristocratic psychology and habits of the classical era, the age when the practice began of competing naked in the games, singled out by Thucydides and other writers as one of the distinguishing marks separating Greeks from barbarians. In a metaphorical way therefore, the statues of Apollo and Athena not only represent the great gods of light, music and wisdom but also the inherent idea of sculptural symbolism that differentiates Modern Greeks from the barbarians. The idea of barbarians is mostly evident through the adoption of classical forms for the city of Athens and the abolition of anything Oriental. In addition, the sculptures of Plato and Aristotle at the entrance of the Academy signify the pre-occupation of the Modern Greeks with *knowing thyself*. Very much like in ancient Greek times, the decorative statues of the ancient Greek gods and philosophers outside the Academy become autonomous while at the same time they retain their intimate connection with the social functions and activities they served. (Pl.11) I believe there is no better example of the tradition of the Greek refusal to compartmentalize their ideas: the line between the secular (in its ideal expression) and the spiritual, between human love and divine, between rest and motion, was not sharp in nineteenth century decorative sculpture any more than in other forms of expression. The same argument of the transcendence of the ancient Greek classical sculptures can be made for the Academy: the sculptures of the gods and philosophers were not intended to be frozen in the psychology of neoclassicism: they moved to meet the challenge of new conceptions and of changing demands. The ascent to the building of the Academy had both an educational and a psychological significance, forcing men to elevate themselves spiritually as they approached the Academy, the building which dominated the Trilogy. The sculptures of the two Gods together with those of Plato and Aristotle signified that the ideal in neoclassical Greek art should be identified with notions of what should be typical in Modern Greeks. The key was surely the

fundamental re-evaluation of the potential of the Modern Greeks and the importance of “*sophrosyne*”, self knowledge, as the greatest virtue. The narrative was represented by one single closely-knit composition of classical sculptures referring to the divine for the exterior decoration and ancient myths relating to the humankind for the interior.

The eight small pediments and the inner decoration of the building have wall paintings of Grupenckel, which represent the myth of Prometheus.⁹¹ Prometheus tried to trick Zeus (who in Greek mythology knows all and sees all) with a false sacrifice. The bigger insult to Zeus though was that he stole fire from him and gave it to the primitive mortals on the earth. Zeus did not punish Prometheus alone for this insult but the entire world for the effrontery of this rebel god. Prometheus gave the mortals all sorts of gifts: brickwork, woodworking, telling the seasons by the stars, numbers, the alphabet (for remembering things), ships and sails. He also gave them healing drugs and the arts. The gift of divine fire that he gave to mortals unleashed a flood of inventiveness, productivity and, most of all, respect for the immortal gods. Within no time culture, art, and literacy permeated the land around Olympus. Zeus, furious with Prometheus, instructed Hephaistos to hang Prometheus from a crag high on the Caucasus Mountain and have his liver eaten while he was alive by Zeus’ eagle. Zeus to undo the evil that Prometheus had done ordered Hephaistos to create Pandora, from water and clay and sent her to Ephemetheus (the brother of Prometheus) with a gift. Once the gift was opened evil, despair, disease and mistrust entered the mortal world. The myth of Prometheus and his brother Ephemetheus is similar to the story of Adam and Eve in the Book of Genesis. Like Pandora, God created Adam from water and earth and tempted him to eat the forbidden fruit despite the warning of God. Both Ephemetheus and Adam did not have the knowledge and wisdom to resist temptation. By having the myth of Prometheus painted in the Academy, it represented the power of knowledge to change the future.

⁹¹ Details about the myth of Prometheus are given in Appendix B.

The predominant material of the facades is Penteliko marble, to make the connection with the classical past. The sculptural compositions on the central pediment and the statues outside the main building are the work of the Greek sculptor Drosis.

The Academy was to contribute to the architectural and social building of a nation and, moreover, to the beautification of the city's image. (Pl. 12) The extravagant design of the building however, became the focus of criticism by many local newspapers: "we have no ships, no army, no roads, but soon we will have an Academy, Turkey, beware!!!"⁹² In fact of all new structures, the building of the Academy was the most controversial proposal. In 1856 an incisive letter appeared in *Philopatris*: "For the time being.. we need rather diverse educational institutions, or even improvement of the existing ones, not an Academy. Do we have enough able men? (...) would not favouritism alone dictate who receives the title of the academician?" According to the author the reasons for the preoccupation of a few with the Academy were the following: "The pride and ambition of the modern Greeks: the fact that the various scientific societies had not achieved much independently, and therefore contemplated forming an academy together: and the need for the regulation of written Greek as if that is done by the academies of France and Italy".⁹³ A very big issue at the time of the construction of the Academy was the need for an archaeological museum. The writer Soutsos, through his newspaper *Helios*, suggested that the new museum should have the first floor used as a museum, while the second floor, with a distinctively different decoration, to be used as an Academy so that both needs are met.⁹⁴ What is particularly interesting in the case of the Academy is that private donation was not affected by public opinion or criticism. Due to lack of sufficient archaeological evidence, we might assume that this was either because most of the Greeks had embraced the idea of an academic institution or private donors were so powerful in Greece that public criticism did not affect their business.

⁹² *Aion Magazine*, 27 March 1858, cited in Scoptea, Eleni, *To Prototypo Vasseilio kai h Megali Idea (The Model Kingdom and the Great Idea)*, Prototypo Publications, Athens, 1988:76

⁹³ Letter signed "k", *Philopatris*, no.59, 6 July 1856. *Philopatris*, no.84 1 January 1857, criticised the institution of an Academy while the existing Archaeological Society (Archaeologiki Etaireia) did not have a meeting place, "after its usual meeting place, the university was closed off".

⁹⁴ *Helios*, no.71, 22 June 1856. In 1862 the paper *Auge* referred to the Academy as "ploutoacademia" or Academy of Wealth, due to its lavish decoration. *Auge*, no. 1040, 7 May 1862.

The building of the Academy started on 1859 but was interrupted in 1863 due to the national revolt against Otto. In fact, the Academy was the last major public structure undertaken by Otto. Building commenced again in 1868 and was finally completed in 1887. By that time though, the Greek State was forced to complete the building, as the Sinas family had ran out of funds. This led to popular unease, as further taxation would have to be imposed to complete the construction of the Academy. In addition to most of the uneducated Greeks the building of the Academy symbolised wealthy patronage and Otto's political ambitions. Hence the Academy was not favoured among the Greeks, in particular in the middle and lower classes. One very important question arises though through the analysis of the building: that is the extent to which private patronage represented the megalomania of the state and the king? I would suggest that the handful of private donors for the construction of public offices was a twofold phenomenon, in that on one hand it eased the way of wealthy families into the political and cultural affairs of the new nation and on the other hand represented up to a point, the cultural aspirations of the *dilettanti*, who also aspired to a nation with strong cultural and architectural ties with the classical past. The wealthy and educated Greeks placed priority on cultural rather than utilitarian buildings, in order to shape the architectural envelope of the Modern Greek identity.



II.7d The National Library (Pl.13)

Completing the Athenian Trilogy, the National Library was sited next to the University and the Academy. (Ch.3, Pl.21/F2) The first National Library of the Modern State was built in Aigina in 1829, by the first governor of Greece, Kapodistrias. Later, in 1842, when the Library had grown in size and the Academy of Athens had been completed, it was moved to the upper floor of the Academy. However, around 1858, with the gradual growth of the Library, Otto ordered Hansen, who at the time was supervising the construction of the Academy, to design a National Library. The construction of the Library started much later in 1887, as no benefactor was found until then. A Greek immigrant in Russia, Panagiotis Vallianos, offered the money for the construction of the building.

The National Library has strong similarities with the Academy, especially in its architecture and decoration. Stone from mount Piraeus was used for the bases of the columns and for the stairs of the first floor.⁹⁵ In both buildings Piraeus stone and marble from the Penteliko Mount were used. However, due to lack of funds the State took over the completion of the building in 1902.

Hansen designed a neo-classical-Doric style building, with Renaissance stairways. Mpiris suggests that the topography did not allow flat, straight, staircases. We could suggest that Hansen was very eclectic in his design, as he chose the best aspects of different styles to fulfil his purpose. In this case the Renaissance staircases diminish the severity of the overall building. (Pl. 14)

He divided the two floors into a minimalist ground floor and an elaborate staircase, which lead to a more complex upper floor. He placed the study area in the middle of the plan with the library surrounding the area. In between these two he left open spaces for

easy access to both the library and the study areas to facilitate the easy flow of readers and staff. (Pl. 15) The upper floor had mostly offices of the administration and private and special collections of books.

For the exterior decoration, Hansen designed a series of replicas of classical statues. (Pl. 16) These were all entrusted to a renowned Viennese sculptor, Svertchec who worked along with archaeologists who were excavating in Athens at the time. However due to the financial constraints of the time, these designs did not come through and another considerably less expensive alternative was offered. The statues by the Vallianos brothers were to decorate the vestibule of the building.

As we will see in detail in the Urban Planning Chapter, the trilogy reinforced the overall symbolic character of the creation of Modern Athens. It connected modern cultural production with the monarchy.



II.7e The Greek Cathedral (Pl. 17)

While the royal palace symbolised Greece's political independence, the Cathedral symbolised Greece's cultural and religious continuity. Mpiris (1996) mentions that by 1838 twelve of the country's Byzantine churches were restored and used.⁹⁶ This need to restore and use pre-existing Byzantine churches was expressed mostly from ordinary Greeks, who viewed their Christian belief as an integral part of their national identity. The Cathedral symbolised the cultural and religious continuity of Christian Orthodoxy dating back to the Byzantium. The long delays of the government and the King in approving and initiating the construction of a Cathedral, led to public criticism: "Although the city of

⁹⁵ Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona (Athens from the nineteenth to the twentieth century)*, Melissa Publications, 1996

⁹⁶ These churches were Hagia Eirene, Gorgopekoos, Kapnikarea, Saints Theodoroi, St. Athanasios of Psyre, Saints Anarguroi, St. Phillipos, Pantanassa of Monastiraki, Prophet Elisaos, Prophet Elias, and Taxiarchai of Staropazaro. Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*: 50-51. Some of these churches have since been remodelled or destroyed.

Athens has theatres, palaces, etc, it does not have one appropriate church for the religious celebrations of the whole city”.⁹⁷ General Makriyiannis criticised the government for the delay in planning for a Cathedral:

“Even though the King made a palace, a church for God he has the desire neither to make nor to see with his eyes: on holidays, he goes with the Consuls and the other foreigners in a hut...When Europe was in our situation, did it also have such luxuries, did it have theatres?”⁹⁸

The hut that General Makriyiannis is referring to might be the Church of Eirine, which in 1846 was rebuilt according to Kaftanzoglou’s designs and was serving as the metropolitan church until the erection of the cathedral.⁹⁹ Queen Amalia’s birthday was also celebrated there in 1841, which spurred further public criticism through the press: “they erected magnificent churches of foreign denominations but still there is no acceptable church for the national religion and faith”.¹⁰⁰ When the construction of a protestant¹⁰¹ church was started in 1838 and was almost completed by private donations, criticism addressed the lack of a Cathedral building but and saw it as proof of a deliberate official neglect and poor treatment of the institution of the Church as a whole. (Pl. 18) Finally, in 1842, the plans for the building of the Athenian Cathedral began to be drawn up.

Both the name and the site for the new Cathedral had been debated for years. In 1834 a new royal decree brought the final decision on its location:

“We want this monument to be worthy of the Greek people and of the event (of their freedom), in honour of which it is erected. The names of the

⁹⁷ *Athena* 9, no. 707, 6 April 1840

⁹⁸ Makriyiannis, *Strategou Makriyianni Apomnhmoneumata*, (*Memoirs of General Makriyianni*), ed. J. Vlachoyiannis, 2 vols., 2nd edition (Athens: E.G. Vagionaki), vol. 2, 1947: 169

⁹⁹ The restoration work according to Kaftanzoglou’s designs is still evident today

¹⁰⁰ *Athena* 10, no.874, 10 December 1841

¹⁰¹ Stamatis Kleathis, C.R. Cockerell and Christian Hansen were the architects associated with the design of the Anglican Church. For further information see William Miller, *The Centenary of the English Church in Athens*, *Church Quarterly Review*, April- June 1938

philhellenes who died in battle, as well as the names of all those others who contributed in any way to the rebirth of Greece will be written down".¹⁰²

The new Cathedral would bring together the long tradition of the Orthodox belief and commemorate the sacrifices of the Greeks for their independence. It would be a public memorial that would reinforce national pride. From the language of the decree we understand that the church was also to act as a war memorial. Therefore the king who initiated the above decrees encouraged the interweaving of the nineteenth century construct of the Modern Greek identity with the ancient foundations of Orthodoxy.

The demand for a Cathedral had both historical and political roots. On the one hand it reflected the country's attachment to Byzantium and the Orthodox faith, and on the other it was the only cultural tradition that unified the Greeks during the years of the Ottoman rule. In fact, Dimaras notes that despite Europe's revolutionary rhetoric, by the mid-1830s there was a strong current of religious conservatism in Greece.¹⁰³ Already we can note one important indication of the general religious climate: the unfailing presence of the clergy in all major cities and ceremonies and the prominent role of the Church in public education. During the Ottoman years, the Church took care of basic education and performed charitable functions. Churches and monasteries accepted contributions and endowments from individuals. Priests and monks fostered the teaching of ancient Greek language and literature in the schools all over the country. Orthodox Greeks believed that Otto should not have had the final word in religious matters, especially since he was not a baptised Orthodox Christian himself. In addition, by government decree all of the dissolved monasteries and churches were passed on to the state.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, during Otto's reign, most of the ecclesiastical property became state property, without offering any of the public functions offered by the church. The ecclesiastical settlement of the Protestant Regent Georg Ludwig von Maurer was met with public outcry since he placed the church together with all other institutions under the power of the king. The local

¹⁰² *The Newspaper of the Government*, no. 5, 29 January 1834, *Decree on the Erection of the Church of the Savior of Athens*

¹⁰³ Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*: 375

¹⁰⁴ *Decree of 7 October 1833*. According to the *Decree of 9 March 1834* and *8 May 1834* respectively, of the 524 monasteries, 146 survived, and of the 16 or 19 convents about three were allowed to continue.

leaders realised that the subordination of the church to the state was a means of increasing the absolutist power of the king and therefore ensured that the new constitution of 1840s specifically stated that the new king had to be an Orthodox Christian. The Cathedral together with the Megali Idea (Great idea) symbolised the way towards the foundation of a new Byzantine state that would include the classical inheritance as a new Constantinople.

Originally the government had proposed the site close to the Athenian Trilogy. (Pl.19) However, the municipal council strongly objected this location as being distant from the centre and not much populated. It was believed that if the Church was to be built close to its parishioners then them, and not the State, would be responsible for its maintenance: "Parishioners need to live near the church in order to run (to the church), as is common, to help out and clean the church, which would otherwise require a not insignificant daily expense".¹⁰⁵ On viewing this decree we can say that despite extensive building in the capital, the heart of the city was still in the old market of pre-liberation Greece, towards the centre of the old town. Therefore, after extensive debates, the government and King decided to build the Cathedral upon an earlier cathedral complex in the centre of the old town. The previous suggested location, near the university would have undermined the cathedral's symbolic status.¹⁰⁶ (Pl. 19) The Cathedral continued the ecclesiastical and religious tradition of building upon the earlier remains of a Church and acknowledged the needs of the populace who needed a Church in the midst of their residential areas. Of the original cathedral complex, only the church of Gorgoepekoos survived. (Pl. 20)

The remains of the other churches, believed to be St. Gregorios and St. Nikolaos, were removed and a square was opened in their place.¹⁰⁷ (Pl. 21) Once the location had been chosen, (Ch.3, Pl.21/X), Hansen was appointed to design the new Church in Romanesque style with a large dome. (Pl. 22) As a result of the 1843 revolution that

¹⁰⁵ *Decree of 20 November/ 2 December 1842*

¹⁰⁶ *Decree on the erection of a municipal (demotiki) church in the city of Athens, Athens, 20 November/ 2 December 1842 cited in Athena 11, no.975, 9 December 1842*

eliminated most foreigners from state positions, Hansen and other architects were forced to abandon Greece. Hansen joined the office of Ludwig Föster in Vienna where he was involved in the building program of King Franz-Josef.¹⁰⁸ In 1846, after most of the sums for its construction had been gathered from wealthy Greeks abroad, the King announced an architectural competition for the adjustment of Hansen's design to a "Greek-Byzantine" [Hellenobyzantinon] style.¹⁰⁹ Until then ecclesiastical architecture was Gothic in style and reflected the religious spirit of most Protestant and Anglican Churches. Such a style however did not reflect the religious spirit of Christian Orthodox faith, which had its roots in Byzantium. Therefore a "Greek-Byzantine" design was more appropriate for the Greek Cathedral.

In 1846 Otto chose the proposal by Demetrios Zezos¹¹⁰, who designed a "Greco-Byzantine" building indicative of the general intellectual climate of the time. The Cathedral emphasised the connection of Modern Greece with Byzantium and the materialisation of the Megali Idea (Great idea).¹¹¹ A few years later, the work of the historian Konstantinos Paparregopoulos¹¹² was published (History of the Modern Greek nation). It was the first Modern Greek history to incorporate the Byzantine period into the history of the nation. Its purpose was to celebrate the unbroken historical and cultural continuity of the Greek race. After Zezos' sudden death later in 1846, Boulanger assumed the architectural responsibility for the Cathedral, while the construction supervision was passed to Panagiotis Kalkos. The architects who worked in Greece were familiar with the vocabulary of Byzantine churches. (Pl. 23) However something very interesting happened: they realised that none of the pre-existing Byzantine churches could act as a prototype, as

¹⁰⁷ Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*: 75-76. Klenze's proposal to place the Cathedral in Otto's square was abandoned

¹⁰⁸ Haugsted, *Danish Classicism in Athens*: 32

¹⁰⁹ Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*: 132-33

¹¹⁰ Zezos had won another competition in 1845 for the design of the church of Zoodoxos Pigi (Life-giving Source) again in neo-Byzantine style. Zezos although Greek brings with him the architectural influences of Europe as he had studied in Vienna. For further information on church architecture, the "Achillean tendon" of modern Greek architecture see D. Phillipides, *Neoellhniki architektoniki (Modern Greek Architecture)*, Athens: Melissa 1984:93-94. Unfortunately the original plan of Zezos' plan has not survived.

¹¹¹ The notion of the Great Idea envisioned a Greek State stretching to the Bosphorus and reclaiming Constantinople as the capital of the Modern Greek state.

they were not monumental in scale. Thus the “Greek –Byzantine” style had to be invented. It was invented for the people and in celebration of their history, tradition and nationhood.

The resulting building differed from Hansen’s original idea and was based on Zezos’ plan. (Pl. 24) The main feature of the Church was now, the two bell-towers, while the dome shrank significantly. Boulanger also introduced polychromy in the façade with shades of ochre and red. Drawing details from Gothic revival ecclesiastical architecture and polychromy were also adopted for most Greek churches.¹¹³ The Cathedral was inaugurated in May 1862.¹¹⁴ The Cathedral stood magnificent next to the smaller church of Gorgoepekoos as a metaphor of the new Modern Greece and perhaps the creation of the new Christian capital of Greece: Athens. Although Constantinople remained the mother city of Orthodoxy, Athens with the new Cathedral combined the ancient Greek classical past with the Orthodox faith. The government’s decision to place the Cathedral on the particular site was not only due to the fact that there was a pre-existing church complex there. The site next to the small Byzantine church of Gorgoepekoos provided the architectural narrative of the potential of Modern Greeks: they constructed a new Cathedral in a Byzantine style in order to celebrate the Orthodox faith which had survived the 400 years of Turkish rule.

The public’s response to the building was positive. *Pandora* magazine praised the Cathedral while it was still under construction.¹¹⁵ It stressed the inadequacy of existing churches and stated that the new church followed “the Byzantine style borrowing also from the ancient architectural details of which the unsurpassed example remains always

¹¹² Konstantinos Pappargopoulos, *Istoria tou Ellhnikou Ethnous (History of the Greek nation)*, Athens, 1853

¹¹³ In the 19th century colour decoration of ecclesiastical architecture was widespread in Europe. The discovery of polychromatic decoration on classical Greek temples along with the “experimental structural polychromy” by the proponents of Gothic Revival in England encouraged a wide experimentation with colour. The polychromy of the Cathedral’s façade was removed by later alterations. For further information on the subject see David T. van Zanten, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s*, Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1970

¹¹⁴ Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*: 132-134

¹¹⁵ *Pandora* 4, no.91, January 1854

Hagia Sophia".¹¹⁶ Although, architecturally speaking, the Cathedral had nothing in common with the design of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Sophia was considered as the ultimate symbol of the Orthodox faith, as it was constructed by Emperor Justinian.¹¹⁷ My suggestion is that we should not look at the "inspired similarities between the two churches" in the professional architectural sense we understand today. We should understand the metaphorical similarities as an inspiration for a new Cathedral in a city that even aspired to surpass Constantinople. The Athenian Cathedral had more to do with the meaning and association it carried. Even though it was different stylistically from Hagia Sophia, they both symbolised the continuing tradition of Christian faith. Modern Greeks identified with the new Cathedral as a symbolic reference to both Ancient Greece and Byzantium. Testimony of the inspiration of the Cathedral from Hagia Sophia, is an article in the newspaper *Ethnofulax* (Guard of the Nation) which mentions:

"This day (of the inauguration of the Cathedral) is truly memorable to the liberated Hellenes. When Hellas ruled in Byzantium, we built the magnificent and beautiful church of Hagia Sophia, that many barbaric occupiers wanted to destroy (reference here is to the Turks). Since then, driven out of our church, all Hellenes weep by the river of Babylon, but we have never forgotten Jerusalem (reference to the Holy Land of Christ) and always turned our sight towards her. For four centuries we lived in fear and torture but finally we managed to regain part of our national treasure and we have

¹¹⁶ *Pandora Magazine*, 4, no. 91, January 1854

¹¹⁷ It was the Cathedral of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople for more than a thousand years and was known as the Great Church because of its large size in comparison with the other churches of the Christian World. It took five years to be constructed and belongs to the transitional type of the dome Basilica. The most remarkable feature of Hagia Sophia is the huge dome supported by four massive piers, each around 100 square meters, at the base. It has four arches swinging across linked by four pendentives. The apices of the arches and the pendentives support the circular base from which rises the main dome, pierced by forty single-arched windows. The light that comes through the massive windows illuminates the interior and creates a sense of infinite space. It has twelve large windows in two rows, seven in the lower and five in the upper. The church measures 77x79m. and the dome 62m in diameter. The church's record list suggests a total of 600 persons assigned to serve in Hagia Sophia. On the 29th of May 1453, when Turks

built in Athens, the second Hagia Sophia. In this church we will worship our God until the day we fully regain our cultural and religious rights (here another reference to the Great Idea is implied)".¹¹⁸

The Greek Cathedral was the only new building in the old quarters of the city and by its juxtaposition with the Acropolis it connected Ancient Greece and Byzantium. The boulevard that connected the two points was the symbolic continuum of Ancient Greece to Christianity. *Pandora* further mentions that it was suggested that the government should enforce the Byzantine style for all churches "of which the unsurpassed example remains always Hagia Sophia".¹¹⁹ The Cathedral is 650 square meters, 40 metres long and 20 metres wide. The main dome is 24 metres high and the interior space includes the entrance hall, the pronaon, main temple and the altar. The church's symbolic reference to the Divine is further enhanced with a series of windows to both sides allowing natural light to penetrate at different times of the day. The crossing which is 11 metres wide is divided into four main axes with eight marble columns signifying them. The altar is divided into three main iconographic zones: the upper one depicts the Last Supper, the middle one depicts the twelve apostles and the third and lower one depicts Christ enthroned with John the Baptist and to the sides Mary with baby Christ to the left and the Annunciation of Mary to the right. The whole of the altar is in carved white marble. The interior decoration remains unchanged today apart from the seats of the King and Queen which have been removed.¹²⁰

In Klenze's final designs for Modern Athens, the Cathedral was placed directly opposite the Acropolis, dividing the city into the cultural and commercial part. The

occupied Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror decided to convert the cathedral into his imperial mosque.

¹¹⁸ *Ethnofulax* newspaper (Guard of the Nation), A, no. 19, 21 May 1862

¹¹⁹ *Pandora*, 4, no.91, January 1854

¹²⁰ Unfortunately photographs are not allowed of the interior of the Cathedral as it is under heavy restoration following the destructive earthquake of 1999.

boulevard that connected the two reference points, of classical Athens and Byzantium was very significant, as around them the whole of the Modern city unfolded. It was not until our century that architects became interested in the small church of Gorgoepekoos next to the new cathedral. (Pl. 25) The Church of Gorgoepekoos was a Byzantine Church and it is where most everyday religious activities took place. All the religious festivals of the State were held in the Cathedral as the official Cathedral of the Modern Greek State. In the nineteenth century the building of the Cathedral dictated the design of all other churches. Therefore we could conclude that the architectural pluralism introduced with the design of the Cathedral allowed the neo-Byzantine style to stand next to the neoclassical style.



II.7f Otto's Royal Residence

Schinkel's Plan for Otto's Palace

Otto's brother Maximilian considered Athens the most fitting location for Otto's palace and employed Karl Friedrich Schinkel to design the royal residence on the rock of the Acropolis. In 1834 Schinkel submitted a set of plans, sections and diagrams to Maximilian with a letter commenting on them. In his commentary, Schinkel explained that three things in the programme were of particular importance to him: 1) that the design of the palace should be appropriate to the immensity of the landscape, 2) that it should be suited to the Greek climate, and 3) that it should be placed on a defensible site: (implying that the political unrest in Athens was likely to continue in the near future). His design would fit the dramatic landscape, its history and the cultural implications of such an action: "The Athenian Acropolis represented a brilliant high point in human history whose radiance would illuminate the paths of higher thought for all time".¹²¹

Schinkel's design was indeed complex: He placed an elaborate, rambling classical villa on the south-eastern part of the Acropolis with a hippodrome from the Parthenon and

the Erechtheion to serve as a ceremonial court. (Pl. 26) In an effort to bring back the glory of the Parthenon and its symbolic significance, he included an enormous bronze statue of Athena, which towered over the whole composition. This would both ornament the site and be visible far and wide over land and sea as a symbol proclaiming Athens. In order to fit into its ancient surroundings, the palace was confined only in one level. (Pl. 27) Axial symmetry was used and colonnades and open courts unified the design. Schinkel allowed himself only the one element of the colossal statue of Athena as evidence of his megalomania, as the modern residence palace did not rise above the height of the old temples. Elements that approached this height, such as the rotunda of the queen's apartment were kept at a distance sufficient to diminish considerably its apparent size. (Pl. 28) However sensitive he was to the historical importance of this unique setting, his practical sense was also alert. While he argued that the advantages of the site outweighed the disadvantages, he nevertheless discussed the difficulties involved in placing a residential complex on the Acropolis Hill rather than on ground level. These difficulties included the lack of water, the problem of convenient access from the city, and the need to cope with excess heat in the summer and blasting winds in the winter, as the site is exposed.

The palace on the Acropolis in fact, bears a similarity to the Flavian Palace (Domus Augustana) on the Palatine Hill of Rome, which was built under Emperor Domitian in AD92. "...It seems that Schinkel adapted the complex design of the Roman prototype to the irregular site of the Acropolis".¹²² Among Schinkel's comparable projects is the proposal for a villa at Charlottenhof, designed with Friedrich Wilhelm in the 1830s and the designs for an enlargement of the court of the gardener's house near Charlottenhof. (Pl. 29)

¹²¹ Carter, Rand. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis*, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. 38, no. 1 March 1979: 37-9

¹²² Ward-Perkins, J. *Roman Imperial Architecture*, The Pelican History of Art, Penguin, 1981:77-82

In all his designs Schinkel's purist approach to classicism and the imitation of classical art, is evident. He rejected *passive classicism*, arguing that the slavish imitation of classical architecture is unworthy of the continued development of mankind: "(the) Greek ideal should serve as a reference point and a point of departure from which an artistic culture of consequence could be continued".¹²³ Schinkel's design was seen as dominant and extravagant for the poor urban and living conditions of Athenians. This is why it was later dismissed by Klenze as "...a charming Midsummer Night's dream of a great architect".¹²⁴ The ambiguity of Klenze's comment derives from the fact that it was possible that the two architects were rivals, as Schinkel did not find out that his design was not approved until late 1839. On the other hand, Klenze had perhaps better estimated the political and social conditions in Greece, more importantly how poor people would revolt against such grandiose plans and the unstable political condition with the state. A very interesting point to note here is that, in contrast to Schinkel, neither Schaubert and Kleanthis nor Klenze included the Acropolis in their plans for modern Athens. They were in favour of making the Acropolis and the surrounding antiquities an archaeological zone. In fact Klenze, insisted that the Acropolis should no longer be used as a citadel and that the post-classical fortifications, barracks, and powder houses should be removed.

Schinkel's design responds to the architectural spirit abroad in nineteenth century Europe, which was a period of grandiose projects of imperial palaces, like those of Napoleon I in France and Italy. Most of these designs are rich in detail surrounding the ancient landscape with expensive and grandiose gardens and designs. The stylistic similarities between the projects of Napoleon I and Otto's palace reflect the ideological similarities between the French and the Germans. Napoleon for instance made direct references to the Roman Empire, imitating its iconography and paintings in establishing his own image. Therefore, while the French were eager to revive the Roman myth, the Germans found allegorical parallels with the Ancient Greeks.

¹²³ Potts, Alex. *Schinkel's Architectural Theory*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991:51

The German obsession with Ancient Greece contributed as well to the rejection of Schinkel's plans for Otto's palace, as King Ludwig, Otto's father, declared that "nothing else should be allowed to be built on the Acropolis. The respected monuments of antiquity should not be mixed with the new buildings. The palace should be located at a place where neither bullet nor bomb could reach it".¹²⁵ The German admiration for classical culture did not, however, cast the modern Greeks as the inheritors of this civilisation. Like many other contemporary Europeans, they believed that the modern Greeks could not appreciate the greatness of classical civilisation and could not be trusted to preserve and restore the existing antiquities. This is evident in a letter by the German Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau to Schinkel, informally informing him of the rejection of his plan for the Acropolis. In his letter, Pückler-Muskau deplored local economic conditions and the Greeks' lack of building knowledge: "It is better for you that you have not seen New Athens: it is a miserable shanty town that would cause you to faint under the columns of the Parthenon".¹²⁶

Ludwig himself finally chose the site for the royal palace during his last visit to Athens in December 1835. In contrast to Klenze's western preference for its location, Ludwig chose the eastern side with views to the Lycabetus Mount, the Acropolis and the Temple of Zeus. (Ch.3, Pl.21/A)



¹²⁴ Hederer, Oswald. *Leon von Klenze*, Munich, Callway, Georg. D.W., 1964: 2nd ed. 1981:147

¹²⁵ Georgios Laios, *O Pyrgos ths Vasilissas (The Tower of the Queen)*, Athens, 1977:41

II.7g Friedrich von Gärtner

The architect chosen to design the palace was Friedrich von Gärtner who had previously designed other Bavarian palaces and the National Gallery in Munich. The location of the palace was very successful, as it was possible to design big gardens all around the building. Gärtner was impressed by the beauty of the classical monuments: “the one who designs something unique in this city must be feeling fulfilled, but how unfortunate and small would he feel when the sun rises and he sees this divine perfection”.¹²⁷

Gärtner designed a building with strict and simple architecture. He placed a series of Doric colonnades on the north and south sides of the building with small Ionic porticos as side entrances. (Pl. 30) The front of the building, on the east, had a Doric portico of ten columns and projected a single storey, creating a balcony on the principal floor for public speeches.¹²⁸ (Pl. 31) On the right and left of the porch there were seven symmetrical windows that completed his strict design. It had three floors some of which were designed for public receptions and others as the King’s private quarters. Gärtner used Penteliko marble for all the columns, decorative pieces and cornices. (Pl. 32)

By 1878, Gärtner had completed the building of the palace. On the south side, he had designed a balcony on eighteen Doric columns, seven metres high. On the left and right of the building were smaller entrances with Ionic columns. As we have mentioned before, Gärtner was interested in the symmetry of his designs and this is evident also in the creation of blocked windows, on the east side that overlook the square, in order to make his building proportional. (Pl. 32)

¹²⁶ Prince Hermann, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, vol.9, Berlin 1876:25-8, cited in Bastea, Eleni, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, Cambridge University Press, 2000:91

¹²⁷ cited in Makriyianni, Nikolaos. *H Istoria tou Megarou ths Voulhs (The History of the Parliament House)*, Athens 1979

On the ground floor Gärtner placed the offices, the press room and reception rooms of the King. To the sides there were the library, the trophy rooms and a small church for the private use of the King. (Pl. 33)

On the second and third floors were the quarters of the King. On the second floor were greater reception halls for state functions, dining rooms with an art gallery that would host the King's art collection. Most of the wall paintings in the palace had themes from antiquity and others had more contemporary themes, like the Greek Independence or Greek fighters. Gärtner chose Ionic columns for the decoration of interior spaces and vivid colours for the walls. As he was not fond of Byzantine art, most of his decorative pieces were replicas of classical statues.

On the third floor were the royal rooms, with a private library and study area. All the floors were connected by elaborate marble staircases of grandiose size. When King George I' in 1863, became the first Greek King of Greece, he also used Gärtner's building as a palace. He did not change anything in the layout or in the decoration of the palace: he only created a second private church on the second floor. In 1890 and 1909 two destructive fires in the palace altered its layout and decoration to the present form. (Pl. 34)



II.7h The Archaeological Museum

Modern Greece was also concerned with the philosophical and artistic debates of the time about the return to classical ideals and classical art and architecture. For this reason, it was decided to create an archaeological museum to house the antiquities that were found in several excavations around Greece. The lack of a proper museum for

¹²⁸ Different historical sources mention that Otto announced Greece's constitution and his first public speech from that porch. In the 1930s when the palace became the Parliament House of the Modern State the specific feature was restored to its original state.

antiquities was often criticised in the local press, especially since all other major building projects of the Athenian Trilogy and Otto's palace were well underway.

Klenze's appreciation of Classical Greek archaeology was stimulated in August 1834, when he visited the Acropolis for the first time. It was at the time that the care and preservation of antiquities became a major political issue for the Greeks, their politicians, intellectuals and for Hellenism abroad. The result of this concern was the drafting of the first archaeological act on 10/22 May 1834, "On Scientific and Technological Associations, on the Discovery and Preservation of Antiquities and their Uses". This act was drafted upon the Italian legislation dealing with the antiquities of Rome and the establishment of Archaeological Museums. The first excavations took place between 1834 and 1836 directed by Bavarian archaeologists and architects.

The Acropolis passed over from the Ottoman Turks to the Bavarians on the 31st of March 1833, having been a defensive fort. During his visit to the Acropolis, Klenze urged the removal of the Bavarian soldiers, the demolition of any later structures and particularly the mosque which had been built by the Turks on the Acropolis. He also stressed the need for restoration of the Parthenon and the exhibition of Classical Greek antiquities in a museum. (Pl. 35) A few years previously the Turks had sold the Marbles of the Parthenon (Elgin Marbles) to the British in exchange for their financial support.

Klenze approved guards only for the free-standing temples, which were in danger of looting. Hence on the 6th of April 1835, the Bavarian guards were removed and the Acropolis came under the jurisdiction of the Archaeological Service. (Pl. 36) On the 28th of August 1834, Klenze symbolically started the restoration of the Parthenon. King Otto attended the initiation ceremony, together with his entourage and civic and military authorities of Athens.

Klenze, in his first plan for Athens, had included a national sculpture museum in the south-eastern end of the Acropolis in front of the Parthenon. The final location was decided to be Feidiou Square, at the cultural part of the city, at the opposite end of Otto's palace. (Ch.3, Pl.21/FSQ) In 1858 a royal decree announced the competition for the "Museum of Antiquities" in Athens, after the donation by a wealthy Greek living in St. Petersburg. The government set specific conditions for the design of the museum:

Art. 3. The Museum ought to have general divisions into centuries (epochs), and be subdivided according to the kind of objects from antiquity...Space must be provided for plaster casts of antiquities of the same periods that are kept in foreign museums, as well as for drawings of architectural monuments (that are abroad).

Art. 4. There also have to be rooms for the archaeological library, the rest of the staff, and for storage of antiquities until they are classified.¹²⁹

The newspaper of the government also published the "Directions for Design of an Archaeological Museum" emphasising that even though funds were limited due to the poor economic conditions in Greece, the beauty of the design had to derive from its artistic harmony, rather than its luxurious execution.

Later on, in 1860, the Ministry of Education turned to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Munich and approached the German architect Ludwig Lange, then professor at the Academy, to design a sophisticated museum to be comparable to other European projects. Lange's proposal was very similar to the one of the museum in Leipzig in 1855-6. (Pl. 37) He expressed his view of the "epochs" through the design of different galleries on the floor plan as "Epoch of Pheidias and Praxitelles", "the Roman Epoch", "Macedonia Epoch" and "Byzantine Epoch". These kind of historical divisions were also used for the design of his museum in Leipzig. (Pl. 38)

¹²⁹ *Newspaper of the Government*, no. 30, 31st July 1858

The construction of the museum started in 1866 on a site donated by Helen Tositsa. Lange's original design was modified by Panages Kalkos and later by Ernst Ziller and Harmodios Vlachos. Ziller and Vlachos completely rearranged the façade and changed the plan of the east wing and the central hall. There was a gradual addition of wings, the west was created in 1874, the north wing was created in 1881, the south in 1885 and the east at the end of the nineteenth century. (Pl. 39)

In the early twentieth century, two further additions were made on the east side of the building: the first was the construction of a new wing based on Anastasios Metaxas¹³⁰ plans and the second one a two-floor building designed by Georgios Nomikos, erected much later in 1932-39. (Pl. 40)

On Klenze's final design for the city of Athens, there is no mention of the archaeological museum as it was approved for construction long after Klenze's time. When it was finally completed though, it was situated in the cultural part of the city, along with the Athenian Trilogy and other art institutions. Its place close to the Acropolis makes more obvious the symbolic references to the continuity from the classical past.



II.7i The Parliament House

All the designs for the city of Athens by Kleanthis and Schaubert and by Klenze included the creation of different ministries and academies but most importantly the creation of a Parliament House to house the spirit of Modern Greek democracy. Until the Greek Independence from the Turkish occupation, the Greek Senate¹³¹ (*gerousia*) met in a private house of the Kontostavlos family, which had served previously as a royal

¹³⁰ Anastasios Metaxas was a Greek architect who had studied in Bavaria and his plans were distinguished for their symmetry and quality use of available space.

¹³¹ During the years of the Ottoman rule the Greek Senate was comprised of elders who were either highly respected either in the intellectual or in the military field. The Greek Senate until the Independence organized popular upheavals at strategic points against the Ottoman rule. After the Independence the Senate was allowed to participate in governmental meetings however was not allowed to actively participate in the decision-making process.

residence. However after a destructive fire, the Senate was temporarily housed in the upper wing of the University. This urged the need for the building of an appropriate parliament house. Francois Boulanger was the appointed architect. On the 25th of July 1858, after a royal decree, the building of the parliament house started. (Ch.3, Pl.21/D)

The design comprised of two parts, the senate and the lower house connected by a staircase. Each part had a two-storey portico entrance with a dome and was flanked by two wings that were used to house offices and meetings. However, again due to lack of funds in 1859, the building of the Parliament stopped. Further changes and new finance enabled the resumption of the building in 1863, with many alterations following the changes in the constitution after Otto's dethronement.

The new plan made under the direction of Panages Kalkos in 1871, involved a single entrance and pronounced middle section. (Pl. 41) The line of classical Greek statues was avoided by placing the statue of a contemporary Greek fighter of the Greek Independence, General Kolokotronis. Perhaps by emphasising Greece's very recent history, the Greek people would understand the Parliament building as a building symbolising the interests of the people and not so much of the ruling class. At this point it is important to remember the whole picture of Athens in the nineteenth century. Modern Athens comprised of many neo-classical buildings which emphasised Athens' continuity from the past. In none of these buildings though, was there an emphasis on Athens' immediate past that would trigger recent memories. What better creation to do therefore, than the Parliament House which symbolically refers to the principles of democracy and common interests. Perhaps of all the Athenian neo-classical buildings, the Parliament is the most representative of the Greek people and addresses most diligently the complexity of Modern Greek identity. The mixing of the past and the present was evident as well in the eclectic collage of statues and decoration that replaced the simplicity of neo-classical lines. In the interior of the building the decorative friezes had themes of classical myths along with paintings depicting the War of Independence. The new building connected the

recent fights for Independence and the Ancient Greek state traditions, of democracy and state values.

Neo-classicism was a European phenomenon. The strict rules of neo-classicism made it an ideal instrument for the preservation of conservative political principles. It is due to its strict formal rules and majestic motifs, that neo-classicism remained the official artistic style until modern architecture became the new grammar of architecture.

The official architecture of public buildings was of a more serious character than that of the private sphere. Its main task was to symbolise the activities of the state authorities and to exemplify the stability of the existing social order. The Viennese Monumental Committee, on the Royal Imperial Municipal Criminal Courthouse (1828) served this purpose. This building shows great similarity with the New Parliament House of Athens, built in 1836-1840, as both exemplify the assimilation of Revolutionary Classicist models in both Vienna and Athens. Both buildings achieve their symbolic importance by virtue of their size and their visible position: the Courthouse on the glacis in the Alservorstadt and the Parliament House in the centre of Athens on the axis of the Lycabetus Mount and the Acropolis. Both buildings seem to be very much in the spirit of *architecture parlante* with massive fortress-like appearances.

II.8 Private Patronage

Private sponsors financed many public buildings in Athens. Due to the lack of funds often the State welcomed the generosity of wealthy Greeks of the diaspora. National pride and a sense of eagerness to make a contribution could be the reasons behind private patronage. For the most part buildings constructed through private patronage were considered independent of politics as they were primarily cultural and scientific institutions. The patrons were usually involved in the selection of the architect while the State was responsible for the style of the building, the location and the construction

process. Generally, private patronage complemented government-initiated building. The Demetriou House and the Arsakeion School represent the diverse involvement of private patronage.



II.8a The Demetriou House

The Demetriou House was one of the first three-storey buildings in Athens. It was designed for a wealthy merchant from Tergeste by Theophil Hansen in 1842.¹³² (Pl. 42) Theophil Hansen (1813-1891) was Christian Hansen's younger brother and he came to Athens in 1838, staying until 1846. He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen and had designed many private residences. Among them only the Demetriou House is attributed to him with certainty. He described the style of his building as "simple and unpretentious". The decoration consisted of cast iron railings in front of the windows, an element probably borrowed from Schinkel.¹³³ Theophil Hansen was also the first to introduce the round-headed openings and more elaborate ornamentation that eighteenth century classicism had borrowed from the Renaissance. (Pl. 43).¹³⁴

Hansen's design had the house facing the royal palace which needed the approval of the King. (Pls. 44 & 45) On the ground floor there were reception rooms while the private rooms of the family were in the upper two floors. Beyond the general building guidelines, design approval for a specific private residency was uncommon at the time. Otto must have been pleased with the design as he later instituted a decree by which the

¹³² Since 1862 the Demetriou House became the Hotel Grande Bretagne. The building was torn down in 1958 and completely rebuilt incorporated some of the architectural elements of the first build. Currently it belongs to a Middle Eastern group of hotels and hosts a theatre. For Hansen's plans of the House see *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Vienna 1846, by permission of the holding institute. Further information can also be found in Kokkou, A. *Ta Prota Athinaika Spitia (The First Athenian Houses)*, Archaeologia 2, Athens, February 1982:61.

¹³³ Diary of Theophil Hansen, 1838 The State Museum of Art Copenhagen, Weilbach archive. Also see Haugsted, *Danish Classicism in Athens*: 28. Elaborate cast iron railings adorned Schinkel's Altes Museum, Berlin 1823. Ernst Ziller, the German architect also working in Athens in the 19th C. also made extensive use of ornamented metal railings.

rest of the structures around the Palace Square ought to have the same façade.¹³⁵ It is interesting to note how private building during Otto's time was allowed close to governmental buildings. The reason for it was that Otto wanted the support of wealthy Greeks of the diaspora who returned to Athens to live as they would support him not only financially but would also approve his building scheme. For their part, the wealthy Greeks wanted to be associated with the State and the government following the European tradition of aristocracy and the State. It is from Otto's time until his dethronement that we see private mansions imitating the architecture of public buildings.¹³⁶ Theophil's design is different from Gärtner's sparse Palace exterior or Christian Hansen's strict classical University. Demetriou House presents a truly eclectic composition, one that could have been proposed for any major city at the time. The arched decorative panels for the windows along with the pure classical style of porticos make the overall building eclectic. It belongs to the family of privately-financed *archontika*¹³⁷, wealthy mansions that appeared during Otto's time. The Demetriou House inspired different private mansions therefore affecting the architecture of modest scale especially in Athens.

Little continuity can be traced between pre- and post-liberation Athens. The majority of inhabitants were newcomers. The architectural plans of the government were based on centralised European prototypes thus the new building activity in Athens had very little to do with Ottoman Athens. The extent to which post-liberation public architecture affected private architecture is evident through the changes of living patterns. While Athenians had little to do with the design of the Palace or the Academy, they were responsible for the style and decoration of their own houses. Of course domestic architecture was dependent on building legislation while using traditional building practices. Owners had to obtain a building permit first which designated the building lines.

¹³⁴ Hitchcock, *Architecture*: 55

¹³⁵ Otto's decision was annulled after his abdication and later buildings did not follow Hansen's scheme. Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*: 129

¹³⁶ Unfortunately all of the private mansions built at that time were either demolished with the advent of modernism or destroyed during Greece's Wars.

¹³⁷ In Greek popular language *archontika* means "archon", "master, ruler", which also denotes the dichotomy between houses of the aristocrats and the middle/poor class.

George Cochrane¹³⁸, a wealthy European who lived in Athens in 1834 narrates a telling story:

“[His majesty] was one day strolling the streets of Athens alone, when he saw an old woman with a paper in her hand. His Majesty addressed her in modern Greek (...) and asked her what it was about. The old woman replied that she wanted to build a house, but before she did so she was obliged to ask permission of the government architect: at the same time she added, that she could not expect an answer for some months. His majesty immediately replied, “I am acquainted with the architect, and if you will give me your petition, I promise that you shall not wait so long”. The old lady accordingly gave the paper, with her name and address, and was much surprised, two or three days afterwards, at seeing arrive at her house the government architect, with the permission she had desired. She then first learned that it was the King of Bavaria to whom she had entrusted her petition”.¹³⁹

During the Ottoman period the common house type of wealthy Turks and Athenians was the *hayiat* type with the characteristic atrium and enclosed balcony (*hayiat*) on the first floor. (Pl. 46) The courtyard had an open arcade on the ground floor and the *hayiat* on the second floor. These types of houses are representative of the lifestyle of the society, where private life unfolds inward, utilising the courtyard, while the street façade reveals little. (Pl. 47)

Street façades became increasingly regular as a result of building regulations dictating street alignment. While single-story buildings were the norm during the Ottoman years, two or three-story buildings appeared later in the century. The central part of the building was often emphasised with the addition of a balcony on the second floor and a pediment over it. These classical elements also appear in the house of Admiral

¹³⁸ Cochrane, George. *Wanderings in Greece*, 2 vols. London: H. Colburn.

Malcolm, designed by Kleanthis and Schaubert in 1832. (Pl. 48) The classical elements were first introduced in expensive designer houses with coherent symmetry and formal logic. If we examine a whole block of common housing we can identify a complex and irregular building pattern inside the block, whereas along the perimeter there is certain degree of regularity and orthogonal arrangement. (Pl. 49) This contrast between symmetrical facades and irregular internal space represents domestic Athenian architecture of the first half of the nineteenth century as the symbiosis of the European front with the remnants of the Ottoman building style. With time this symbiosis ceased to exist, as with the modernisation of the city and the introduction of additional neoclassical public buildings, middle class Athenians preferred styles derived from Europe.¹⁴⁰ At this point it is important to note that many Europeans living in Athens continued to distinguish between the Athenian urban family and the Phanariote family, as a reflection of the adoption or rejection of new modes of living:

“I have often seen at Athens a tradesman’s family assembled at their evening meal. I was not a guest. I was only a spectator. (...) If it was guessed that I was there they would have shut the shutters: the Greek does like the philosopher he conceals in his life. I know of nothing as mean and poor as the appearance of those repasts, or as frigid as these family meetings: the wife is complaining and the children squall...Among the Phanariotes family is about **what it is with us**. The woman is equal to her husband, fulfils gracefully her duties of mistress of the house (...) they are rich enough to love each other”.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Ibid. vol. 1: 222-223. Cochrane was a relative of Lord Cochrane and served as his private secretary. He worked as a secretary to Lord Cochrane until 1828. His views although not objective, reveal the state of building affairs in post-liberation Athens.

¹⁴⁰ Wordsworth provides an interesting example: “The style of building is rather modern German than anything else: neither the picturesque Turkish house nor the Italian colonnade is seen: happily, the English red brick is also absent...” *Athens and Attica*, Appendix: 280-282.

¹⁴¹ About. Edmond, *Greece and the Greeks of the present day*, transl. from the French, New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1857: 127-128. About came to Athens in 1852 as a fellow of the French Archaeological School and stayed until 1853. His account provides us with information of Ottonian Athens. My emphasis on the original notes Europe’s perception of superiority over Greece

By the end of the nineteenth century one can speak of an Athenian lifestyle which was exported to the rest of Greece. This new lifestyle involved new civic roles for women, new family modes and in general a metropolitan attitude.



II.8b The Arsakeion School

With the creation of the Academy and University came the establishment of an organised body of Education responsible for the creation of the first boarding school for women where they would train to become teachers. Thus, in 1845, the Society for Education (Philekpaideuthkh Etaireia) announced the building of the Arsakeion, a boarding school for 100 women. The design of the building was given to Kleanthis as he was considered the most experienced architect in Athens. Kleanthis, flattered, accepted this offer without payment.¹⁴² His design was circulated among the members of the Society and to the press. Once again *Athena* criticised the designs:

“The trustees of the Society for Education think that they are doing good by erecting a building of 3.000 piques.. Why we ask, should such a colossal building be erected in Greece?...It would be good if the trustees limit themselves.. and built a simple, inexpensive building for at most 50 girls: the interest from the rest of the money could be used for the maintenance of schools in towns with no money...The purpose of the Society should be the education of the souls of the female sex and not the glorification of the capital with buildings”.¹⁴³

The Society's aim however was not simply the glorification of the capital: the creation of the Arsakeion School signified for the first time organised State education and was adopting a much needed European style of education in the form of boarding schools. The creation of the School should not be viewed solely as a preoccupation with the appearance

¹⁴² Mpiris, *Ai Athinai*, 1998.

of the city: the Arsakeion School forms part of the wider state of affairs where public architecture, state education and urban planning reflect the European character of New Athens. The location of the Arsakeion was chosen close to the cultural centre of Athens and the Athenian Trilogy. (Pl. 50) This way Athens emphasised the role of education by designing a cultural centre that eventually grew larger than the administrative part of the city.

Kleanthis' proposal was in the classical idiom with symmetrical, monumental façades. (Pl. 51) The building was divided into two floors: the ground floor had classrooms on either sides, two small amphitheatres and a library at the back: whereas the upper floor consisted of the dorms, two additional classrooms at the front of the building and central halls. (Pl. 52) Kleanthis' response to *Athena* reveals a preoccupation with design:

“Regarding the façade: none of the four façades appropriately characterises the idea of the Parthenon: it would be highly desirable if this national Parthenon was built more according to the Greek style [Hellenikoteron], because it does no honour to us Greeks to erect Parthenons in Athens imitating Tuscan architecture, while all the rest of the countries in Europe are zealously imitating Greek architecture in all of their buildings”.¹⁴⁴

Kleanthis' reference to the Parthenon was not a cynical comment of an arrogant architect. It denotes his profound preoccupation with finding an architectural style that best represents the Modern Greek identity. Very much like his plans for New Athens, in this case as well, Kleanthis is searching for an appropriate Greek architecture at a time

¹⁴³ *Athena* 14, no. 1261, dated 18 October 1845.

¹⁴⁴ This reference is particularly important as we have very few surviving reports of Kleanthis' critique of his designs. The only other surviving document is the Plan for Athens where again the architect documents his considerations. *Ekthesis peri tou en Athinais anagerthesomenou ktirioy ths Philekpaideuthkhs Etaireias* (*Exposition regarding the newly constructed building of the Society for Education*) Athens 1845. The Arsakeion building is not used anymore as a school. The building serves a private company.

when Greece was politically unstable. Although he is aware of the theoretical debates regarding style in Europe he considers his native Greece as source of inspiration and urges Athenians to develop their own native architectural style (and consequently identity) and refrain from imitating foreign styles. Of particular interest is his comment about the zealousness of Europe to imitate Greek architecture when Greece instead of looking within itself for inspiration is imitating foreign styles. As we will see in the Chapter to follow although nineteenth century Europe focused on new buildings with a distinct neoclassical character, the legacy of the earlier city, its culture, its way of living, its spatial claims and its own architectural order also endured and eventually co-existed with modernity to form the architectural synthesis of contemporary Athens.

CHAPTER THREE

NEW ATHENS URBAN PLANNING

If the seventeenth century is regarded as the beginning of the modern age because of its philosophical, scientific and artistic innovations, then the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries emerge as the ages in which these innovations became part of the culture. In contrast to the idea of “the exotic” that dominated the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with its absorption of the Baroque and Rococo styles, the eighteenth century moved in a new direction in its approach to the arts. Looking backward as it moved forward, it sought inspiration from classical civilisations that served as the paradigms of excellence. Modern Athens, influenced by the artistic debate of the time, followed the tradition of neoclassical building and urban planning and moved towards a more free design that would incorporate both the countryside and the urban fabric. In this chapter will examine how the new designs for Athens reflected the perception of the “ideal of classical civilisation” and how they were used as tools of political manipulation. All the plans will be compared and contrasted both in form and in terms of the political definition of Modern Greece.

I. Background

Western civilisation has traditionally viewed the cultures of Greece and Rome as the great exemplars. Archaeological became more interested in the middle of the eighteenth century, and Europeans sought to emulate these societies in their governments, arts and philosophies. Greece and Rome became models for the political philosophers and artists of the time, since they were the first civilisations successfully to establish forms of democracy. In seeking to emulate the best that had been thought and expressed, the eighteenth century looked to classical models for inspiration. Art became a reflection of classical ideas adapted to the revolutionary spirit of the time. Artists, looking back into the classical past, forged a

style that embodied themes of sacrifice and patriotism, mirroring the principles of their evolving culture. Within the art world, the reversion to classicism appeared to be a reaction to the previous Baroque and Rococo styles. Embodying the aristocratic society, these forms were no longer welcome in a world shying away from opulence and turning towards reason and rules. Antiquity seemed to mirror the principles of the revolutionary spirit, and the philosophers, as well as artists, adopted these views.

Aligned as they were with the new society that the founding fathers were trying to achieve, classical concepts regarding human and governmental philosophies were also embraced in nineteenth century Greece. The Neoclassical style perfectly captures what the neo-Greeks were looking for: a strong independent representation of their values. Neoclassicism became the official style of art and architecture in Greece mainly because of its association with the democracy of ancient Greece and its symbolism of liberty.

In pursuit of a style that would reflect the progression of Greek ideals, Otto, the new King of Greece, adopted the language of classicism. King Otto served as the quintessential nineteenth century politician who adopted a Greek classical style echoing the progressive voices of the New World. Classical civilisation evoked patriotic emotions and righteous moral principles that coincided perfectly with the revolutionary movement all over the globe.

The art of eighteenth century England, France and the United States reflects both a renewed appreciation of the ancient ideals of Greece and Rome and an espousal of the new revolutionary spirit. In Greece in the following century, neoclassical art reflects both an appreciation of the classical ideals and the revolutionary spirit that freed Greece from the Ottoman rule.

Neoclassical architecture, on the other hand, while manifesting an appreciation of the classical, also reveals the individual preferences of the architect. This is not to say that these builders were totally unaffected by the criticism of the monarchies, for it is apparent that the simple and practical tastes of designers evince nationhood. However, columns, arches and domes used in buildings certainly were not meant to reflect a revolution, nor did the common people mistake them for that purpose. Unlike painters, architects were generally from rich

backgrounds and held no grievances against their system of government. For example the Greek architects who were involved in the planning and building of the new Athens had been educated in France and Germany and brought with them the European spirit of nation-building.

The Neoclassical period was a relative calm between two storms: the religious tension of the Baroque and the tempest of revolution in the Romantic period. This lack of violent and desperate emotions allowed for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to be a time where logic and rational thought would give way to the expression of feelings and emotions. Calm and reflective as these periods were, they served as a portent of the revolutions to come. In France, there still existed an absolute monarch, who had as little contact as possible with the working and lower classes and begrudged them any courtly privileges. In Germany, though, neoclassical thought and art flourished and prospered. Greece following on the steps of Germany, as its King was German and most of Greece's architects came from Germany, built in a manner that would reflect the belief in the classical past and democracy and would act as a symbol of the new state of affairs, meaning Athens as a European capital.

Moreover urban design was not only to satisfy the fantasies of the monarch or simply to assure the defence of the country. It also had to provide the setting for a better life.¹ In the case of Greece both the aesthetic prototypes and the social preoccupations of urbanism reflected contemporary European practices. In the *Origins of Modern Town Planning*, the architectural and urban historian Leonardo Benevolo pointed out that with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, "poverty, a condition which had been borne for centuries without hope of a reasonable alternative, was now recognised as an extreme condition of hardship, in other words it was now seen as an evil which could and should be eliminated by every available

¹ The anthropologist Paul Rainbow, based on an analysis of Michael Foucault identified the following trends in late 18th century French urbanism: "The increasingly important role of the state, in which, however, other authorities (scientific, architectural, and medical) played major roles as consultants: the public nature of the debate [was different]: truth was no longer esoteric, and its authorised spokesmen multiplied." Foucault, Michael, *La Politique de la santé au XVIII^e siècle, Les Machines à guérir: aux origines de l'hôpital moderne*, ed. Michael Foucault, Paris 1979. Cited in Paul Rainbow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989: 74

means. The minor improvements of the past were no longer acceptable”.² The conditions of nineteenth century urbanism in Greece were similar: there the government also played an increasingly important role in the design and rebuilding of cities and it established offices of engineering and architecture that resolved specific problems as they arose. Moreover the process of planning itself began to be of concern to public opinion, which acquired a strong voice in post-liberation Greece. The state was now expected to ameliorate the living conditions of the people in the cities. The criticisms in the press did not compare the present conditions with earlier idyllic situations. They reflected rather an increased concern for social welfare that was now new to the nineteenth century. Most works on urbanism place the beginning of modern town planning in the nineteenth century. Two questions then arise: what is the definition of “modern” town planning, and does the term characterise, also, the Greek situation?

Both Benevolo and Rabinow place the beginnings of modern urbanism during the Industrial Revolution. Modern town planning is seen as an integral part of the general movement “to extend the potential benefits of the Industrial revolution to members of all classes”.³ Rabinow further brings into the debate the perspective of the social scientist: “certainly, there had been a baroque ordering of cities grand perspectives, (symmetrical distribution, and attention to monuments) but it is questionable whether this should be called urbanism in the modern, technical sense, in that it was unable to accommodate change and was not geared to industrial society”.⁴ Greece, however, was not industrialised in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the insistence on the industrial society would limit the applicability of the above definitions. If however we view “industrial society” as “modern society” then it would be possible to conceptualise “modern” society according to the premises of the “industrial” society. To achieve this we need to detach techno-economic development and the advent of industrialisation, from social development and the insistence on social welfare. My research points to the fact that the social concerns associated with modern urbanism reached Greece much earlier than the Industrial Revolution that caused their genesis elsewhere. A study of the social conditions of nineteenth century Greece reveals

² Leonardo Benevolo, *The Origins of Modern Town Planning*, Judith Landry, trans, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971: 31-32

³ Benevolo, *Modern Town Planning*: 32

⁴ Rabinow, *French Modern*: 76

the transitional character of that society and its politics. While there is an undeniable shift towards the centralised authority of the government, the scale and quality of the interaction remained in the realm of “men” and not “of things”.⁵ If urbanism is one of the most complete examples of modernity, as Rabinow suggests, then the urbanisation of nineteenth century Greece documents the country’s modernisation.⁶

The design of modern Athens was not an isolated planning instance in nineteenth century Greece. It was part of an extensive programme of urban reorganisation, initiated by Kapodistrias and followed throughout the century by subsequent administrations and governments. Based on a limited number of surviving town plans and other related documents, I shall outline the general principles of nineteenth century town planning and their relationship to contemporary European practice. This analysis will provide a broader context for the study of the Athenian plan and will examine the extent to which the political significance of the city of Athens within the new nation was reflected in its town planning.

II. Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century over 170 plans were approved for the foundation of new towns and the planning of pre-existing ones. During Kapodistrias’ term of power⁷ (1828-31) nine plans were approved mainly for provincial cities. Under Otto (1832-62), forty plans were made, among these the most important ones for the city of Athens, and 111 under George’s I reign.⁸ The designs of new towns were always based on a regular, geometric grid pattern. Kapodistrias and his administration aimed to restructure the existing “organic” street patterns of the pre-planned settlements which lacked geometric layouts. The military

⁵ Saint-Simon predicted that modern society was to pass “from the government of men to the administration of things” cited in Rabinow, *French Modern*: 1

⁶ Rabinow, *French Modern*: 12. Rabinow does not discuss Greece.

⁷ Kapodistrias began his political career in 1803 as secretary to the newly created republic of the Ionian Islands. In 1807 after Napoleon had annexed the Ionian Islands, he transferred his services to Russia, which as the greatest Orthodox Christian power would be the Greeks’ strongest ally in the War of Independence. Kapodistrias relied especially on the help of rich, educated Greeks of the diaspora for financial and political assistance. Further views on the rule of Kapodistrias can be found in Woodhouse, *C.M. Kapodistrias: the Founder of Greek Independence*, Oxford, 1973 and Finlay, *A History of Greece*, VII.

⁸ Kafkoulas, K., Papamichos N. and Hastaoglou, V. *Schedia Poleon sthn Hellada tou 19ou aiona (Town Plans in 19th century Greece)*, Thessaloniki: Aristotle University, 1990:103.

engineers proposed the opening of straight streets, the division of new towns into regular building blocks, and the creation of squares and public spaces. As a rule, throughout the nineteenth century the design proposals for new Greek towns were based on an orthogonal system of different degrees of elaboration.⁹ The new building legislation approved by all successive governments promoted a homogenous urban space that enhanced a common national culture. State rituals celebrated the inaugurations of public buildings. Urban planning, more than ever, signified national progress and the vision of the State to create a modern European state. Every government, and in particular Otto's government, initiated and controlled space, just as it controlled and developed the national educational curriculum, Greek history and religion. One of the main intentions of Otto in particular was the creation and establishment of a unified, rational, urban network throughout the country, comparable to the prevailing Western models. It is for that reason that the built environment became instrumental in forging the identity of the Modern Greek nation. (Pl. 1)

In this building process, however, the involvement of local people is of considerable importance. Especially in the case of Athens, as the focus of my thesis, local people could raise a voice only through public media, like newspapers and magazines of the time. It is interesting to note that only members of the aristocratic community were in fact involved in the official process of urban regeneration of the city whereas laws and other restrictions with regard to public housing were introduced as *de facto* to the middle class. According to Mpiris¹⁰, at times local people, in order to express their discontent and resist the new planning procedures, disregarded the relevant legislation, built their houses without permission often on public land or on the protected archaeological sites. Given the class divisions within Greek society, we cannot generalize from the opinions recorded in the press nor can we document private discussions in cafes and private houses. Nevertheless we do know that the public was more united in its view of public architecture and planning than it was in its view of international relations and foreign policy. Evidence of this can be found in the press which extensively criticised the government's rebuilding processes, and did not

⁹ Original plan in the General State Archives (henceforth GAK), General Secretariat, f.262, Published in Spiros Loukatos, *He anoikodomisi ton ereipomenon poleon sin eleutheri Hellada epi Kapodistria*, (*The Rebuilding of Ruined Towns in Liberated Greece under Kapodistrias*), *Etos Kapodistria: 200 chronia apo te gennesi tou*, (*Kapodistrias' Year: 200 Years since his birth*) Athens: Ministry of Education, 1978:116

hesitate to criticize the sacrifices demanded of the residents for the sake of the adoption of grandiose schemes. Of particular interest is the fact that the government, although it expected public involvement in the debate about language, history, religion and folklore, excluded public opinion in the urban planning processes. This, as we will see in detail in the final chapter of the thesis, could be for two main reasons: either because all successive governments had appreciated that the unifying factor in the case of Greece would have been its language, religion, history and folklore and thus had to encourage public participation in all major decisions concerning the above, or, King Otto, who is mainly responsible for the new urban plan of modern Athens had a different political agenda than the mere unification of the Greek people: the creation and establishment of a modern European state and the display of his appreciation of classical Greek heritage.

II. a Kapodistrias' Planning

Kapodistrias and his administration were responsible for the restructuring of the street patterns in Greek towns. Planning and rebuilding after the War of Independence carried strong messages of regeneration to the Greek people. Many Greeks who lived abroad were eager to return to their towns and villages. At the same time, an increasing number of refugees had to be accommodated in the new state. In 1829, Kapodistrias founded the Corps of Officers in Charge of Fortifications and Architecture¹¹ to oversee any building proposals and plans: "No building, or repair of military or civil building could be undertaken except by the Corps of Officers, or under its direction".¹² For the first time in liberated Greece, the state had full control of all building and planning. Kapodistrias had a keen interest in rebuilding plans and often visited sites himself.

Under Kapodistrias' rule, nine new cities were designed. Plans were made for new streets and public squares in existing towns, and for new the ones, plans were based on orthogonal grids of some complexity were submitted. Several of the plans that were proposed continued

¹⁰ Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai*

¹¹ National Greek Archives, "*On the Creation of Public Offices / The Corps of Officers in Charge of Fortifications and Architecture*", file 51, section of Public Administration prior to 1840.

¹² Geniki Efhmeris ths Hellados 4, no.56 and 58 (17/24 August 1829). National Greek Archives.

to be in force many decades later. According to Mpiris¹³, twenty-nine military engineers and architects undertook the development of these plans. An example of a grid can be found in the plan for Aigion or Vostitsa, approved after 1828, where the public square was formed at the intersection of two major streets right in the centre of the plan and a smaller square surrounding a church. (Pl. 2) In pre-existing towns, the new orthogonal grid was superimposed on the plan in order to create an order of major streets and squares. The plan for Corinth also aimed at regularizing¹⁴ the existing settlements by superimposing a new grid system. (Pl. 3) The engineers working for Kapodistrias were already familiar with the concept of regularisation through urban planning. Evidence of this comes for example, from the use of the verb *régulariser* in a letter by J.P.F. Peytier, addressed to Kapodistrias, regarding the planning of Corinth.¹⁵ The new urban order did not only signify the development of new towns and the progress of pre-existing ones, it was the metaphor of the state's independence from the Ottoman rule. In the words of Stamati Bulgari, the Corfiote engineer of the French army, the new plans designated the passage from "barbarity to civilization".¹⁶ Bulgari was very active during Kapodistrias' rule. He was involved in the planning of major cities like Nauplion with Theodoros Vallianos, Tripolis with Garnot, and Patras (Pl. 4 & 5). If we examine closely all the plans, we will see a clear intention to change both the architecture and the urban identity of modern Greece. For example, Bulgari himself, in his guidelines for the plan of Nauplion, proposed the abolition of the *sahnişin*, the Turkish enclosed first-story projections of houses, because of the association of the *sahnişin* with Ottoman architecture and not Greek.¹⁷ Hence we could suggest that the urban planning of Modern Greece, from the city of Athens to the provincial towns and cities was a strategic movement that aimed at the abolition of everything Ottoman and the enhancement and

¹³ Ibid. Mpiris

¹⁴ In a brief overview of the nineteenth century planning, Choay defined "regularisation" as follows: "We mean by regularisation, a word borrowed by Haussmann, that form of critical planning whose explicit purpose is to regularise the disordered city, to disclose its new order by means of a pure, schematic layout which will disentangle it from its dross, the sediment of past and present failures". Cited in Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th century*, New York: Braziller, 1969:15

¹⁵ Letter in French dated 6-18 February 1829, GAK General Secretariat, f. 185.

¹⁶ Stamati Bulgari, *Notice sur le compte Jean Capodistrias*, suivi de l'Extrait de sa correspondance avec le capitaine au corps royal d'Etat-major Stamati Bulgari. Paris, 1832:20.

¹⁷ Dorovinis, Vassilis, *O sxediasmos tou Nafpliou kata thn kapodistriakh periodo*, 1828-33. (*The Planning of Nauplion during Kapodistrias' rule, 1828-33*), in *Neoellhnikh Pole*, vol.1: 291, 295.

reinforcement of everything purely Greek.¹⁸ Another point to note however is the fact that all the plans, while creating Greek cities, tried to follow the European models for the creation of urban spaces. For example we can see this from the plan of Argos by Rudolph de Borroczün in 1831. (Pl. 6) The new plan for Argos presents a different approach to regularisation, as it was imposed on the existing city by widening and straightening the old streets and creating formal gardens that signified public squares and entrance gates. An extensive planned zone, *esplanade*, surrounded the old and new parts. Argos' plan¹⁹ was in keeping with international landscaping as the proposed planting of trees and parks stressed the aesthetic, social and hygienic aspects of parks. For example in Paris and Rome, parks were considered the lungs of the city, while providing uplifting scenery for the dweller who could escape to nature. Of course, in the case of Greece, many cities remained small in population and density and thus the rural landscape was there at hand. Based on the idea of creating an authentic Greek setting along the lines of European urban design, we could infer that in fact the politicians and architects wanted to create the image of an "ideal city", where the Greeks would associate wide streets and public squares with lots of green, with "good, ideal" design and thus urge the people to regularize their own houses. This however was not always the case, as many residents, due to lack of financial resources often preferred to ignore the existing building decrees and built their houses any way possible. Of great interest to us is the case of Sparta, where the inhabitants of the city took the initiative to send a letter to the government asking first and foremost for the building of a church, a hospital for the needy and a school "in search for light". The attraction of Sparta, they continued, "did not only rest on its ancient

¹⁸ Leon Battista Alberti in his books *On Painting* suggests that only by comparison we can demonstrate the power of an object: "thus all things are known by comparison, for comparison contains within itself a power which immediately demonstrates in objects which is more, less or equal. From which it is said that a thing is large when it is greater than something small and largest when it is greater than something large: bright when it is brighter than shadow, brilliant when it is brighter than something bright". Alberti, *Three Books on Painting*, Yale University Press, 1977:55. Understanding architecture and the arts as plastic arts and their inter-relation as a significant one for the creation of one and the other, we can borrow Alberti's definition of a comparison to suggest that by comparison the Greeks would be able to identify the new kind of architecture and urban plan as purely Greek as opposed to Ottoman, reinforcing thus the argument of a constructed national identity.

¹⁹ A copy of the Argos plan is kept in the archives of the Ministry of Planning. Another copy of the same plan, kept in the Argos Town Hall, has been published in Loukatos, *Anoikodomoish, (Rebuilding)*: 102. Loukatos in his book refers to the architect De Vaud, as an architect involved in the plan of Argos (p. 103). That plan however does not survive. It was superseded by de Borroczün's design, approved in 1831. Additional information can also be found in Vasilis Dorovinis, *Capodistrias et la planification d'Argos* (1828-1832), *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, supplement 6, 1980:501-523. Little is known about the designers of the early plans. We generally assume that engineers of the French army must have been primarily involved in drafting the plans. Unfortunately no official record has survived with their full names and rank.

legacy, but also on its healthy and beautiful location".²⁰ The case of Sparta although it shows public initiative, does not establish public involvement in the planning process of Greece as the urban plans for Sparta were not realized due to the assassination of Kapodistrias.

The plans proposed were the products of the legacies of Hippodamian and Roman orthogonal planning. There were however other more immediate predecessors. The extensive building activity by the Spanish in the American colonies during the sixteenth century provided a significant early example. In general, according to Benevolo, the regular layout of new towns expresses the predominant aesthetic principles of Renaissance thought.²¹ In his analysis of Spanish colonialism, Benevolo has pointed out that the Spanish surveyors were not merely applying a set of predetermined principles to the new lands. They had to respond to the specific landscape and lifestyle of its place. This universal need for a central space where all citizens could gather together was pivotal to the planning scheme.²² Although in Greece orthogonal planning dates back to antiquity, it is the originality of the details that characterises each era, the improvements of each plan which renders each plan unique to its inhabitants. The engineers and architects involved in the building of modern Greece had to subordinate their theoretical training to the specific problems of property rights and local institutions encountered there. They had a very specific task: to provide sufficient housing for thousands of displaced inhabitants and organise the infrastructure of the new state. The historical uniqueness of each town does not deny the parallels that exist between them. My premise is that orthogonal grid planning was given preference in most cases of urban rebuilding throughout the eighteenth century and the same tradition was continued in nineteenth century Greek planning.²³ The extensive rebuilding of Greek towns can be paralleled with the rebuilding activity of major Italian towns after catastrophic earthquakes. For example the region of Calabria, in southern Italy, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1783. Almost all 391 settlements became uninhabitable and had to be rebuilt in new

²⁰ Public proclamation dated 14 March 1829, General State Archives, General Secretariat, File 196.

²¹ Benevolo, Leonardo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, 2 vols. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

²² Ibid, Benevolo: 474, 476

²³ For exceptions to this rule, in the design of capitals and royal seats, see Braunfels, Wolfgang, *Seats of a Princely Court*, and *Capital Cities*, in *Urban Design in Western Europe: Regime and Architecture, 900-1900*, trans. Northcott, Kenneth, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988:176-339

locations.²⁴ The new towns were laid out on orthogonal grids of varying configurations. Looking at the plans of Palmi and Mileto we can find a fairly strict adherence to biaxial symmetry and predominance of the existing geography as in the case of the coastal town of Reggio Calabria. (Pls. 7 & 8) All new designs allowed for open spaces, in the form of one or more squares. These provided for the town's market, but they also celebrated the town's institutions that flanked the sides of the square: the governor's palace, the mother church, the orphanage, the public schools, the hospital.²⁵ The Greek towns resembled closely the urban plans of Calabria, both in the geometric layout and in the prominent placement of their administrative buildings. The advantages of the grid plan in facilitating the surveying process, the opening of streets, the division of lots and circulation were quickly appreciated.²⁶ Most importantly though, as mentioned before, there was a conscious attempt to break away from the immediate Ottoman past. In Bulgari's own words "the new plans designated the passage from barbarity to civilisation".²⁷ By juxtaposing the crooked streets and public squares of limited space of the old towns with the new designs, change is obvious. In most of the surviving documents of Greek committees that we find, there seems to be an insistence on churches and schools as the most pressing buildings to be erected. The power of the Church in post liberated Greece was mentioned by foreign visitors. George Cochrane ended his Greek travelogue with a chapter entitled "On the Colonisation of Greece". There he advised the prospective English capitalist after buying an estate to "locate upon [the] land, first, a priest, whose services [he] could secure for about three hundred drachmas a year, for which he would engage to reside upon the spot".²⁸ Should he help the Church financially, the priest could exert influence on the local families, who could help with the everyday running of the estate.

²⁴ Sica, Paolo. *Storia dell'urbanistica: I: Il Settecento*, Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1979: 201, see also Tobriner, Stephen. *The Genesis of Noto: An Eighteenth Century Sicilian City*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1982

²⁵ Ibid. Sica: 201-203

²⁶ Lavedan, *Historie de l'urbanisme: Époque contemporaine*, part 3, chapter 2: *La création des villes au XIXe et au XXe siècles*.

²⁷ Bulgari, Stamatis, *Notice sur le compte Jean Capodistrias, suivi de l'Extrait de sa correspondance avec le capitaine au corps royal d'Etat-major Stamati Bulgari*, Paris, 1832: 20.

²⁸ Cochrane, George. *Wanderings in Greece*, 2 vols. London: H. Colburn, vol. 2, 1837:326-327. It is interesting to note that in almost all the records of letters or memoirs belonging to wealthy Europeans, there seems to be a disclosed view of superiority of Europe as opposed to Greece. Adding further to the preconception of the "Greeks not being worthy of their ancestors", most books on Greece that we find, mention the corruption and bribing as a way of solving future problems.

II.b Major Planning and Building Decrees in the Kingdom (1833-1900)

The extensive planning programme affected all levels of building. The major planning and building decrees were made under the reigns of Otto and George I. Soon after the establishment of building decrees in 1833, the regency took control of all building in the country. Its policy was also adopted by the constitutional government of King George I, indicating therefore the continuity of planning. The new decrees dealt with new building or alterations to existing ones. All plans had to be approved by the regency on grounds of stability and safety: "They also prohibit any deviations from the approved plan, from the specified construction method, and from the established building line".²⁹ Two decrees published on the 3/15 April 1833 established the administrative division of Greece into prefectures (*nomoi*) and provinces (*eparchies*) and the institution of seven ministries (*grammateai*): Exterior, Interior, Justice, Religious Affairs and Public Education, Economics, Army and Navy. The prefectures were responsible for the demolition of unsafe buildings, the construction and maintenance of bridges and roads and the administration of irrigation works.³⁰ They were also responsible for keeping the streets safe and unobstructed. An 1858 royal decree further specified the role of prefects that they were responsible for determining the "width of sidewalks, the quality of the material and the type of construction.... after consultancy with both the mayor and the engineer of the town".³¹ The Ministry of Interior was responsible for street alignment, the design of orderly plans and the administration of building decrees. The creation of a Ministry of Interior along with its new responsibilities gave the government and its local representatives the authority to control both private and public building. This authority was overemphasized as the Ministry of Interior oversaw the Office of Irrigation, Street and Bridge construction. It shared some the responsibilities with

²⁹ Degree signed on 6/18 March 1833, "*On the penalty of Police Violations Regarding Public Cleanness of Food and Building Enterprises*". General State Archives, file 150.

³⁰ Efimeris tis Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 17, 4 May 1833

³¹ Efimeris tis Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 32, 31 July 1858

the Corps of Engineers, which were in charge of all public works except the royal buildings.³²

The most important decree concerned the creation of the Office of Public Economy in the Ministry of the Interior. Among the responsibilities of the Office were:

- “To compose an exact survey and topographic description of the kingdom, to prepare easy-to-use tables of the number of its people
- To prepare and make available all materials related to settlement, keeping in mind especially the Greeks who are returning to the land of their ancestors: to find new settlements, look after them and monitor their progress
- The Office of Public Economy should draft an exact catalogue of the residents within the provinces and prefectures. This catalogue should mention the names, the number and the “*architecturality*” of the houses and the areas of each village, small town, city, and monastery. In this catalogue should be marked all the houses, be they state or private and the approximate area of each”.³³

This programme however was never completed as the Office of Public Economy was abolished in 1846. With Otto’s ascent to the Greek throne a new decree established the planning guidelines and placed local authorities in charge of their execution. The decree *On the Hygienic Building of Towns and Villages*, 3/15 May 1835, empowered the planners and architects of Greece to introduce new settlements having in mind an orthogonal grid pattern and the creation of public squares. According to State Decrees public buildings, like the Church, the School, the Council of Elders and the Town Hall, were to be located in the centre of the town with private houses surrounding them. Stables, slaughter houses and cemeteries were to be sited outside the city limits. There was also a mention about the uniformity of buildings with a preference stated for two-storey buildings and the colour of their facades. Concerns about the city’s decorum were also evident: “In the areas around and near the cities and towns promenades and alleys of fruit-bearing or at least shade trees, should be provided”.³⁴ Moreover, the State, by requiring each inhabitant who received land, to build

³² Efimeris tis Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 14, *Degree on Road Construction*, 13 April 1834

³³ Efimeris tis Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 18, *Decree of 29 April/11 May 1834, on the Formation of the Office of Public Economy by the Ministry of Interior*, 2 May 1834

³⁴ Two other decrees as we will examine them closely in the Urban Planning Chapter, focused on the execution of the plan of Athens and established further guidelines for planning throughout the kingdom. These were: Efimeris tis Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 20 “*On the Execution of the Plan of the City of Athens*”,

upon it within a given time period, ensured the timely rebuilding of towns and controlled profiting from real estate: “Those who received land, must for the construction of their houses, follow the prescribed regulations of the 2-14 December decision: the six-month deadline starts from when the property right is passed to the buyer”.³⁵

The new legislation therefore, aimed at establishing spatial control and homogeneity throughout Greece. All these decrees apart from denoting the need for total control of the built space in both its current and future forms, further establish the idea that in Modern Greece of 1839 form was inextricably related to national identity. All the decrees apart from their practical usage were of historical importance as they can be read as historical documents that shaped and formed the urban plan and design of the ideal Modern Greek city. Especially if we think that many of these ambitious plans were never executed due to the financial limitations of the state, the lack of trained personnel and the fragile political situation, we can further suggest that those decrees that deal with the form, colour and importance of public buildings (esp. the Church), are in fact documenting the ambitions and aspirations of all successive governments, architects, but most importantly the politicians that approved them. Of course all building decrees borrowed extensively from the international tradition in order to keep in line with European visions of Modern Greece. Perhaps another reason for the modest or uneven implementation of building and planning decrees was the fact that in many cases the Greeks would not register their private property, especially agricultural for fear of being taxed. Hence this resulted in many unregistered properties and land for which the government could not apply any law or tax as they had not identified the owner.

Only a few decrees dealt specifically with architecture. One of them is the decree “On the Construction of Identical Stoas around the Square of the Tripolis’ Church of St. Basil”.³⁶ The decree prescribed that all houses around the square should have identical stone stoas

9/21 April 1836 and Efhmeris ths Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 91 “*On the Addition on the City Plan of Athens Decree*”, 31 December 1836

³⁵ Efhmeris ths Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 32, 24 January/ 5 February 1835. Articles 3 and 4 of the decree focused on expropriation procedures for creating public piazzas, streets and the erection of civic buildings.

supporting their façade, 4.5 Royal piques (2.86 meters) in height, with the distance between columns variable from 3 to 4 Royal piques. A similar decree prescribed the construction of stoas around the Harbour in Piraeus.³⁷ It specified the stoas to be “uniform in width and distance from each other, with arches made of good-sized, hard, quality stones, and their vaults plastered”.³⁸ The local representatives of governments were so to speak the caretakers and policemen of buildings and cities, responsible for inspecting their condition, lighting, cleanness, and for initiating or approving building changes. The legislation blurred the distinction between private and public buildings while it emphasised the role of the state and its local representatives. What is remarkable in the case of Greece is the fact that, when it comes to town planning and formal design, there was a strong sense of continuity. Despite the change of ministers, as Elli Scopetea³⁹, a modern Greek historian mentions, governed town –planning and building were shaped by a degree of continuity. This therefore, reveals the determination of all parties involved for the modernisation and unification of the country despite the micro-politics of different parties and individuals. My own findings reveal a shared agreement by a range of politicians despite changes of governments and ministers.

The most representative urban plans, those of Hermoupolis in Syros, Patras and Aigina, reveal a need not only to modernise existing towns, but to create new thriving administrative and commercial centres. What is particularly interesting in this process is the desire to connect classical Greece with modern Greece, by building new towns very near ancient sites. In fact many of the toponyms were changed back to their original ancient Greek ones, like in the case of Hermoupolis, the ancient Greek town on the island of Syros. This intentional decision to use the original ancient Greek name is revealing of the desire for connection between modern and ancient Greece. Some of the new designs followed the natural topography closely, as for example the plan for Aigina in 1898, or introduced new formal geometries like the plan for Patras. New plans addressed the utilitarian needs of the new nation. While urbanisation continued throughout the nineteenth century, plans after the

³⁶ Efhmeris ths Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 15, “*On the Construction of Identical Stoas around the Square of the Tripolis’ Church of St. Basil*”, 14 March 1860

³⁷ Efhmeris ths Kuberniseos (Government Gazette) no 40, *On the Construction of Identical Stoas for the Harbour of Piraeus*”, 15 November 1863

³⁸ Ibid. no 40, 15 November 1863

³⁹ Elli Scopetea, Prototypos Vasileio, 1988

1850s began reflecting directly the limited resources of the new state. However despite the need to place priority on expediency and practicality, in many cities we see extravagant designs. Many of the nineteenth century plans featured elaborate gateways, tree planting around squares, grand avenues and wide piazzas bearing symbolic names, like Piazza Nazionale, Piazza del'Eroi and Place d'Otto. This large scale building activity carried strong propaganda as it demonstrated to the people that King Otto and successive governments were committed to the reorganisation of the country and thus the well-being of the people. The aim was to celebrate Greek nationalism through the display of classical heritage and promote religious tradition, while safekeeping local traditions and idioms. These messages were also propagated by the political rhetoric of the time. The iconography of this regular urbanism, with its determined rupture with the past, its descriptive naming of squares and the specifications for public buildings aimed at preserving the deeply rooted religious traditions while it showcased the country's archaeological treasure and glorious past.

One is often led to believe that the citizens themselves would also choose a complex, dramatic plan for their town. Even though we cannot make many assumptions about the reaction of the citizens to the new plans, since there is no surviving record that represents the majority of the population, this seems arbitrary. It is equally very difficult to differentiate among the opinions of wealthy versus poor Greeks, those living abroad versus those living in Greece, since very much like today many newspapers and magazines of the time were politically driven and, in any case, very little survives.

What we can assume, however, is that all Greeks wanted utilitarian plans, rather than dramatic ones. In fact, judging from the criticisms in the press, the simple geometric plans designed under Kapodistrias rule, were easily comprehensible and preferable to some more elaborate proposals introduced under Otto.

III. The Grand Designs for Athens

In the early 1830's, Kleanthis and Schaubert developed a capital plan for Athens based on the impending independence of Greece from four hundred years of Ottoman rule. Although this was not fully implemented, the Germans created a plan that both respected the

past and anticipated the future.

The plan was for a city of 35,000 to 40,000 inhabitants even though in 1833 Athens had only 4,000 citizens. The royal palace was to be built outside of the existing city, preventing local opposition to the buy up of property by the government. A large square was to be outside of the palace where roads from the surrounding town would terminate. This design encouraged the incorporation of the country with the city, the capital with its hinterland.

The Athens Plan of 1833 by Kleanthis and Schaubert followed three criteria. First, that the city and palace would be appropriate for a European monarch. The emphasis here is on European, in opposition to eastern or Turkish. The new independence of Greece created a strong desire to become a part of Western Europe and to establish a Greek identity separate from the Turks and the east. The building of the new capital was symbolically and actually an expression of this.

The second criterion was that the plan was to respect the past. Thus the public buildings were to be neoclassical in design, a respectful nod both to the glory of ancient Greece and to Western European values. It is interesting that to create a capital Greece turned to Europe and neo-classicism rather than turning to itself, the proclaimed "authority" on classicism. By choosing mainstream European Neoclassicism, Greece demonstrated the strength of her desire to be European. Neo-classicism had a major impact on Greece as the young country struggled to establish itself as a democratic nation with its European counterparts. Once again, the calm, cool appearance of Greek forms reflected the virtues of nineteenth century Greece and its effort to appear as a democratic state of governance.

The planners thought that Athens should be expanded to the north and east of the Acropolis to preserve archaeological sites. The planners wrote, it "offers the added advantage that the ground over the ancient cities of Theseion and Hadrian remains untouched and there is room left for later excavations. Even if the present situation of Greece does not allow for the excavations to be undertaken immediately, nevertheless, a future generation could accuse

the present one of lacking foresight if this issue is not considered right away".⁴⁰ In addition, the professionalism of the planners was evident: they understood the desires of the Greeks as well as their financial situation and did not want to create conflicts by using all public funds for the construction of public ministries.

The third criterion was that the existing structures of Athens were to be accommodated. This was to be accomplished through the development of the palace grounds and capital functions outside existing Athens, minimising the intrusion of the plan on the residents and personal property.

Overall, the idea was to make Athens, a small town of 4.000, into the symbolic centre of Greece, worthy of its capital status and part of Europe. Neo-classicism straddled both goals well: it was Greek enough for the Greeks and European or civilised enough for the Europeans. Developing a Greek identity based in Europe was especially important because of the newness of Greek state. The country's cultural and intellectual orientation was expressed as a yearning for acceptance in the family of modern European countries and a desire for political and cultural unity and national definition expressed through public architecture and a strong connection if not identification with the classical past.

As Middleton and Watkin (1980) observe, in the nineteenth century it was common for architecture students to visit archaeological sites at the end of their academic training.⁴¹ Paris and Rome were the most frequent centres.⁴² In Greece however architectural tours were not frequent especially during the Ottoman period. Most archaeological and architectural knowledge of the country's antiquities, as we have mentioned before, came from Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, 1758, and Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities*

⁴⁰ *Erläuterung des Plans der Stadt Neu-Athen* cited in Hans Hermann Russack, *Deutscher Bauen in Athen*, Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942: 177-182.

⁴¹ Middleton, Robin. & Watkin, David. *Neoclassical and Nineteenth century Architecture*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1980:9-104

⁴² For further information on the travels of European architects see, Athena, *Europaikh Ypothesi (Athens: A European Affair)*, Exhibition Catalogue, Greek Ministry of Culture: 1985, Chapter 4, *Europe without borders*. On the significance of foreign travel to individual architects see, Pundt, Hermann G. *Schinkel's Berlin: A study in Environmental Planning*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972, Chapter 3. *The Lessons of Italy*. On the travels of French architects to Italy and Greece, see *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris-Rome- Athenes*, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1982.

of Athens, 1762-1830.⁴³ During the Ottoman years however, the philhellenic sentiment increased and resulted in an increase in foreign travel and publications about Greece, especially after independence. Winckelmann (1764) and much later Collins (1965) revolutionised the way we examine classical architecture. Challenging the assumption that the Romans had improved on the Greeks they considered the birth of artistic supremacy in fourth and fifth centuries.⁴⁴ Athens became not only the birthplace of artistic excellence but the symbol of everything Greek. The architects who worked in Athens were confronted with multiple layers of history and classical antiquities that had not yet acquired a firm place in contemporary architectural theory. Therefore, it is important to stress that the architects who designed the public houses and urban plans actively participated in the rebirth of Athens, as the “indisputable excellence” of classical Greek architecture was still the focus of contemporary academic discourse.

Stamatios Kleanthis and Gustav Edward Schaubert were the first architects commissioned to design the New Athens. They had both studied at the Berlin Bauakademie between 1826 and 1828 and visited many other European cities after their architectural training.⁴⁵ Kleanthis was born in 1802 and attended the Greek School at Bucharest and later joined Sergeant Ypsilantis’ liberating army, *Hieros Lochos* (Sacred Battalion). In June 1821 at Wallachia, the battalion was liquidated and Kleanthis, after escaping imprisonment, fled to Leipzig where he studied architecture. He later arrived in Berlin to continue his studies under the direction of Karl Friedrich Schinkel.⁴⁶ Schaubert was born in 1804 and, having worked in agriculture, decided to study architecture at the Bauakademie in Berlin.⁴⁷

⁴³ Le Roy, Julien David. *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, 2 vols. Paris: H.L. Guerin & L.F. Delatour, 1758. Stuart, James & Revett, Nicolas. *The Antiquities of Athens*, 5 vols. London: J. Haberkorn, 1762-1830.

⁴⁴ Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Dresden, 1764. Collins, Peter. *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*, London: Faber and Faber, 1965:87.

⁴⁵ Fountoulaki, Olga, *Stamatios Kleanthis (1802-1862): Ein griechischer Architekt aus der Schule Schinkels*, PhD. diss. University of Karlsruhe, 1979:11

⁴⁶ Little is known about the period of Kleanthis’ stay in Berlin and Leipzig. The only mention to his name we have is a letter from Schinkel to a friend about the young Greek student. The letter is dated 24 November 1828 and is full of praise about Kleanthis. Many academics believe that the letter was addressed to Klenze. University Library of the Bauakademie, Berlin. Further mention in Fountoulaki, *Kleanthis*: 7-9 and Kühn, *Schinkel*: 509-510.

⁴⁷ Russack, *Deutsche bauen in Athen*: 23-24, cited in Fountoulaki, *Kleanthis*: 10-11

The two young architects travelled in Europe with recommendation letters from their professors at the Bauakademie. When they arrived in Rome they met with Karl Wilhelm Freiherr von Heideck, who was a philhellene painter, involved also in the Greek fight for independence.⁴⁸ Heideck urged them to see governor Kapodistrias and indeed in 1830 they arrived in Athens. Kapodistrias appointed them as the first civil architects of the new state based on Aigina, as Aigina was the first administrative centre of the Greek state. Kapodistrias in a letter to Heideck wrote of them: "The architects [Kleanthis and Schaubert] are already busy with their work and they deserve your favour and respect".⁴⁹ They were responsible for public buildings undertaken by the state and were also assigned to teach theory and practice to an orphanage in Aigina. The two architects offered their services to the state gratis, instead of supporting themselves from private practice. Kapodistrias however did assign them a monthly salary.⁵⁰ In 1831 they were commissioned to design the Peloponnesian town of Vostitsa (Aigion). Their work there was to design a school, supervise the clearing up of the old streets and make the plan for a town extension.⁵¹ The overall design was made up of uniform, rectangular building blocks. In the lower part of the plan there is a monumental set of stairs leading down to the harbour. Tree-lined boulevards define the city edge in a further effort towards grandeur and decorum. (Pl. 2)

Under the Bavarian court, town planning was to pass from utilitarian to symbolic, especially in Athens. Kleanthis and Schaubert played a significant role in the transformation of urban design in Greece. Most of the gridiron plans continued to be in effect even after Kapodistrias' assassination. In 1831 Kleanthis and Schaubert left for Athens where they established themselves after the governor's assassination. At the time the affairs of the Greek state were in the hands of the provisional government which tried to gain internal peace until the arrival of Otto and his entourage but was in the meantime still under Ottoman jurisdiction. While in Athens the architects undertook the documentation of the existing town

⁴⁸ Kühn, *Schinkel*: 509

⁴⁹ Letter dated 13 march 1830, *Megalon Hellenikon Biographikon Lexikon (Great Greek Biographical Dictionary)*, ed. Bouboulines, Athens, vol. 1, 1959: 33-34.

⁵⁰ Decree dated 22 July 1830, signed by A. Kapodistrias, FEK 5, no.63, 6 August 1830. Further information on their salaries can be found in Mpiris, Kostas. *Stamatios Kleanthis –Eduard Schaubert, Ta Protia Sxedia ton Athinon*, (The First Plans of Athens), Athens: 1933: 37-38.

⁵¹ GAK, General Secretariat, f.260 & f.262. Letter dated 15 February 1831, entitled *Bostitza*. The Ministry of Planning has the plan it is however under conservation and thus reproductions of it are forbidden.

on their own initiative.⁵² They were assisted by the archaeologists Ludwig Ross and Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer.⁵³ Kleanthis and Schaubert had only one fundamental work published before them to assist them in their research and work. Although the Fauvel map, c.1800, which depicted the Athenian street pattern in detail, is another fundamental work especially in the reconstruction of street patterns in the Ottoman period, this publication was not known to them. (Pl. 9) The only work that they did take into consideration was the archaeological map by William Martin Leake.⁵⁴ (Pl. 10) This archaeological map along with their survey of the topography of Athens provided the basis upon which the design of New Athens could be drafted.

Kleanthis' and Schaubert's residence housed the first university on the foothills of the Acropolis. (Pl. 11) In Athens they were commissioned to design and build houses for wealthy foreigners living in Athens. One of their first houses is the house for the English admiral Malcolm and "other Austrians, Americans and Englishmen".⁵⁵ (Pls. 12 & 13)

On May 12/24 1832, the provisional government commissioned Kleanthis and Schaubert to design Modern Athens.⁵⁶ They were not given any specific instructions as to how they were supposed to design the new urban plan. As Kleanthis later stated they were asked to design "a new plan equal with the ancient fame and glory of the city and worthy of the century in which we live".⁵⁷ They were assisted by the architect G. Lüders from

⁵² In 1836 the government asked Kleanthis to prove that he and Schaubert were actually working on the plan of Athens in 1831. Kleanthis solicited a written testimony to support his claims and stated that they had undertaken the design on their own initiative and at the time when the Acropolis was still under Turkish jurisdiction. GAK, Ministry of Interior, *Otto's Archive*, f. 220, documents dated 5 July 1836. Further information on the restrictions visiting the Acropolis see Ross, Ludwig. *Erinnerungen*: 62.

⁵³ Kühn, *Schinkel*: 509

⁵⁴ Leake, William. Martin. *The Topography of Athens*, London 1821. Leake was a British colonel and had drafted the most complete archaeological map of Greece for his government. Remember that at the time we already had the interest and removal of the Marbles of the Parthenon (Elgin marbles) from the British government. Additional information on travelers in Greece can be found in Tsigakou, Fani-Maria, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters during the Romantic Era*, New Rochelle, New York: Carantzas Brothers, 1981, no.28

⁵⁵ Ferdinand, Alexander. V. Quast, *Mittheilungen über Neuathen*: 2. See also Ross, Ludwig. *Erinnerungen*: 54, where he makes reference to Malcolm's house.

⁵⁶ The exact date of the plan's approval is mentioned in GAK, Ministry of Interior, *Otto's Archive*, f.220, no.12191, dated 16/28 June 1836.

⁵⁷ GAK, Ministry of Interior, *Otto's Archive*, f.220, dated 10 July 1836 signed "S. Kleanthis". The original document is in Greek.

Leipzig.⁵⁸ Kleanthis and Schaubert submitted their proposal and memorandum to the provisional government on 8/20 December 1832. The following extract from their memorandum clearly states their intention for the design of Modern Athens:

Love for the cradle of the arts and the sciences, Athens, and the absence of a good plan for it, which is noticeable by all its visitors, urged us in November of the previous year to make an exact map of the city and the nearby suburbs, through which we tried to combine two goals: Foreseeing, on the one hand, that the learned world of Europe would take interest in that work, we took pains to register exactly all old ruins and remnants, even bare foundations, several of which have been newly discovered in recent years, and to mark the heights and depths more accurately than it had been done in earlier maps. On the other hand, we did believe that perhaps the government would later use our survey as a useful preliminary work for the plan of the reconstruction of Athens out of its ruins, whether or not this city should be designated as the future capital of Greece. This is why we drew the plan at a much larger scale than would have been necessary for solely archaeological purposes: scale 1:2000. We believed that we served both objectives by meticulously recording the names of all existing churches, since in archaeology one can sometimes draw conclusions from the name of a church about a building which existed earlier in its place. In May of the present year we were actually commissioned by the provisional government to design the drawings of New Athens, keeping in mind the glory and the beauty of the ancient one. As honourable as this commission was, we did not undertake the solution to this relatively difficult task without fear. This was made even more difficult by the fact that we did not know whether to imagine Athens as a future capital or a mere provincial city, nor did we know the extent of the resources which the government planned to use for the construction in either one of the cases. Being in such doubt, we believed we had better foundations following the public opinion of Greece and the

⁵⁸ GAK, Ministry of Interior, *Otto's Archive*, f.220, dated, Nauplion, 23 Nov/5 Dec. 1833, signed "Le Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, J. Colettis". Lüders was appointed by the government to assist with the plan of Athens. He resigned by the end of 1833. His involvement in the plans however is not often mentioned in literary sources.

collective expectations of the Hellenes: thus in our work we imagined

Athens to be the future capital of Hellas and the seat of the king.⁵⁹

Their first plan for Athens corresponds with their explanatory memorandum and it is considered to be one based on their previous survey without any alterations made by the Bavarian court. (Pl. 14) What is interesting to note is that Kleanthis and Schaubert designed a city “keeping in mind the glory of the ancient one”... (according to) the collective expectations of the Hellenes”. The administration and perhaps the Greeks expected the architects to show through their designs, what Athens should look like rather than what Athens could be. As a result, the plans reflected the political aspirations of the time and not necessarily the social, political and urban reality of the place. Their plans for Athens reflected their image of an ideal city.

⁵⁹ Ibid. *Deutsche bauen in Athen*. Notice how the architects refer to the Greeks as “Hellenes” taking into consideration also the expectations of the Greeks who lived abroad. By Hellenes they refer to all Orthodox Greeks living both inland and abroad who speak the Greek language. The emphasis in the text is mine.

III.a Kleanthis' and Schaubert's First Plan

Kleanthis and Schaubert made two plans for the city of Athens. The first plan could be regarded as the architectural expression of the planning aspirations for New Athens and a rediscovery of its classical past. (Pl. 15) It is based on William Martin Leake's archaeological map of Athens. Upon it they added the newly-founded antiquities and recorded the existing churches. (Pl. 10) The proposed design extended north of the existing city and its surrounding walls. The existing hills on the west side of the Acropolis and the sloping south side suggested a northern and eastern extension. The reasons for this extension are given by Schaubert and Kleanthis: "the moving .. of the city north of the basin offers the added advantage that the ground over the ancient cities of Theseus and Hadrian will remain unbuilt for later excavations. If the present situation of Greece does not allow for the excavations to be undertaken immediately, nevertheless, a later generation could accuse our contemporaries of lack of foresight if this issue is not considered right away."⁶⁰ Kleanthis and Schaubert were aware of the economic burden of land acquisition but urged the state to proceed with the new plans as soon as possible.

The design followed an overall symmetrical pattern. As mentioned before, the topography of the place, along with existing buildings, was taken into consideration. The proposed extension lay over the flat terrain around the Acropolis hill. The royal palace, as a tribute to the new king, was at the centre of their design and it was located directly north of the Acropolis. This way it provided the royal family with the "sight of the great and praiseworthy monuments of ancient centuries." In the middle ground unfolded the rest of the city with the ordered tree lined boulevards and gardens appropriate to a nineteenth century capital. To the right and the left of the palace square were the two Parliaments (the House of Representatives and the Senate) and towards Lycabetus hill, northeast of the city were the ministries of Finance and War, the arsenal and the mint.

The two most significant features of a spatial nature in Kleanthis and Schaubert's map are the street and the square. The reason why we are focusing more on these two

⁶⁰ Kühn, *Schinkel*: 512-513

elements for our analysis of the urban planning of Athens is because these are the ones that constitute change and define the social and urban environment. The grouping of houses around an open space produces the square, which might be said to be the first discovery of the use of urban space. The square has a more symbolic character as it provides the space for socialising, relaxation and aesthetical appreciation by means of gardens to embellish them.

On the other hand, the street is a product of the spread of a settlement once houses have been built on the available space around its central square. The street separates and arranges land and gives access to different private houses, spaces and areas and has therefore a more functional character. In my view it is the street and square that express the activities of a town in both the private and the public spheres. The basic behavioural patterns of humans are the same whether in private or in public so it is the way in which public space has been organised that has an influence on the design of private houses.

Krier⁶¹ mentions that the quality of houses set side by side, the facing harmony of frontages and the adequately marked different street sections fulfil a precise cultural role in the functional coherence of the street and square. Hence the appropriation of the building material, the facing frontages and the layout of arterial streets are important for nineteenth century Athens, not only for their functional role but also for their spatial aesthetics: "Architecture is something tangible, useful and practical as far as most people are concerned. In any case its role is still considered as the creation of cosiness indoors and of status symbols outdoors. Anything else is classed as icing on the cake, which one can perfectly well do without".⁶²

The first plan was created based on three symmetrically proportioned avenues that ran through the city from Piraeus, the Acropolis and the National Stadium. Piraeus street, connected Piraeus port with the centre of Athens running through the main commercial markets, the post office and the police (marked M,T,II,P on the map). It also connected the palace with the south west of the city through a complex of street grids that led to the

⁶¹ Krier, Rob, *Urban Space*, Academy Editions, London, 1979

⁶² Ibid. 1979:21

commercial part of the city. The second boulevard Athinas Street was to connect the Acropolis and primarily the old part of Athens with the new city centre running from the Acropolis, through some private shops and houses, to the Palace.

The third boulevard Stadiou street connected the Ancient National Stadium with the Palace, through the Athenian Trilogy (marked Z,H on the map), the Bishop's Residence (ϑ) and other private buildings. Stadiou street was in the north-south axis of the city and symmetrical to Piraeus street. All the boulevards ended at the royal palace as a symbolic reference to the authorship of Otto. All three boulevards had different symbolic characters: Piraeus Street was referring to the commercial aspect of the city, providing access to the city's port and to the Customs House. Athinas Street on the other hand was the physical link between the Acropolis and the new centre, giving therefore, the opportunity to Athenians to visit their ancient heritage and feel the connection with the future. The choice of the street name was very deliberate as "Athinas" Street means "Athens" street. Athinas Street could be said to be the most important boulevard of Athens offering symbolic references of the continuity from the past as it connected the old town with the new town. That is why perhaps the architects chose this boulevard to run through gardens and what was to become a square, with an open view of the palace: Athinas Street "crosses another large square, on which (will be projected) a theatre, a market and a casino. On this square large stores will be erected separate from the rest of the food market, which we have moved towards the old city and organised according to categories for consumers".⁶³ The new roads were projected to be 60 or 70 English feet wide. The ones to be opened through the old city were between 15 and 30 feet wide. The architects tried to avoid the destruction of major buildings in the old city and proposed amenities that would soften the impact of summer: tree lined streets and arcades. Each house was to have a court or garden and each block was made up of 10-15 houses. For the two young architects, the plan for Athens respected the antiquities and incorporated contemporary planning principles: "a new plan equal to the ancient fame and glory of this city and worthy of the century in which we live." After some minor changes the plan was accepted by the Royal Decree of 29 June/11 July 1833 which also declared Athens the capital of the Greek nation. The decree began:

⁶³ Bastea, E. *The Creation of Modern Athens*, Cambridge University Press, 2000:78

“the plan for the renovation of Athens which was drawn by the architects Messrs, Kleanthis and Schaubert, and was submitted to us, along with explanatory remarks, on 8/20 December present year [1833] is approved as it was finally determined according to the attached and signed by us. This plan will be taken exactly under consideration in the buildings [to be undertaken], and the proper authorities should by no means allow any deviation from the designated building lines and street lines”⁶⁴

Athinas Street could be said to divide the city into two parts: the commercial, with a principal avenue, Piraeus Street, and the intellectual part, with Stadiou Street. The careful separation of buildings justifies this view, as on the commercial part of the city, connected to Piraeus port, there are most of the market places, the customs house, the police station and the post office (marked O,M,M,P,T on the map).

The third boulevard, Stadiou street, stretched from the ancient stadium to the city centre, connecting the north-eastern cultural part of the city, the Athenian Trilogy, with the Bishop's House, other cultural centres (marked Z,H,I,Θ on the map) and the botanical garden (or else the King's gardens). Again the name “Stadiou” street refers to the original point of departure, the National Stadium.

All the main streets were processional routes relating all the public institutions with each other and opening a dialogue between the old town, the new town and the green (the countryside). Great emphasis was placed on arterial roads within the homogenous network of streets marked in most cases with impressive architectural features, like the exterior decoration of the Academy and the two statues of Apollo and Athena, which signified the entry to the Trilogy as a metaphorical gateway or the post office-police station-stock market trilogy (marked O,T,Π,Ξ on the map) which signified the commercial aspect of the city. All the boulevards opened out into squares dividing therefore the street space into visually

⁶⁴ GAK, City Plan, f.10, no.5090. This decree was not published in the Government Gazette and it remains as a hand-written document in the archives. The announcement of the transfer of the capital to Athens was announced in the Government Gazette with the decree of 18/30 September 1834, published in the Government Gazette of 28 September 1834.

manageable sections in contrast to the seemingly infinite perspectives of the remaining network of streets. Buildings marked the street and square articulation on Kleanthis' map, whether it was the Athenian Trilogy for the "cultural square" or the Bishop's House for the "religious centre".

The anatomy of the city is broken down to its functional and symbolic components in this plan, where the palace (A) on the top of the plan refers to political authority whereas all the practical functions of the city, commercial markets, universities, schools are confined in the centre. The proposed plan for the city of Athens had a pedagogical character, in that the inhabitants of the city were to be distanced from contemporary problems so as to establish irrevocable social relationships.⁶⁵ The palace referred to the politics of authority and kingship and therefore was situated at the top of the plan and remained outside the social, cultural and commercial urban complex. At the same time though, the position of the palace denotes the political and social hierarchy of Athens where Otto, as the head of the body, sits at the top, the cultural and commercial centres of the city are the main body and the industry and agriculture in the outskirts, the arms and legs. The palace could be regarded as the *omphalos*⁶⁶ from which the city originated, the reference point, which connected the cultural, administrative and commercial parts of the city.

The first plan for nineteenth century Athens bears similarities with "the Radiant City" in the form of main axes running through the city, the hierarchy of design and the political and cultural references through the urban design. (Pl. 16) In fact Kleanthis' first design is based on the same principles of three main axes running through the city, in a triangular shape, starting from different sides of the city and ending to the same point, the political authority symbolised by the palace. The one main difference the two plans have perhaps, is the fact that, in Versailles, the town was to be built on either side of the three main axes, on a

⁶⁵ Thomas More in 1516 used "Utopia" as the title of his book where he describes a state with fifty-four cities, all built according to an identical plan, whose inhabitants were all educated as true Christians with a prescribed order of living. According to this Platonic conversational theme, people distanced themselves from current problems in order to find irrevocable laws.

⁶⁶ According to Frontinus, a Roman surveyor, the way one has to set out a city is by starting with an *amussium*, an absolutely level marble slab- on which one should set a bronze gnomon, a "shadow cracker". By tracing the shadows at certain specified times one could plot a line running due north to south and use this as the basis for setting out one's city. The meeting point of all the shadows, from where a city should lay out is the *omphalos*.

series of uniform squares and according to precise regulations, whereas in Athens the three main axes are within the city with settlements on either side and in between the boulevards. Whereas Versailles sits within three boulevards, Athens incorporates its main three boulevards as well as all the pre-existing settlements.

Kleanthis' plans for Athens were concerned with the geometry of the streets and also with the aspect, prospect and climate. For instance, according to Hippocrates (in *Airs, Waters and Places*. iii-iv), the healthiest part of the city should be facing east. Aristotle in his *Politics* (vii, 10.1) agrees with this view. Kleanthis' inspiration from ancient Greek planning assembled the cultural centre of the city to the east. The Athenian Trilogy on the east side of the city along with other cultural institutions forms the most important part of new Athens. Stadiou Street running through the Athenian Trilogy and the Christian Education Centre (marked Θ on the map) connects the Athenian academia with the religious centre with a circular square that offered the people the space to interact and socialise, emphasising therefore the important role of Christianity in Greek education. The name of the square "Muses Square" refers to the ancient Greek myth of the nine muses. All of the buildings, the Academy (marked Z on the map) the Library (marked H on the map) and the Christian Education Centre face the square and are surrounded by different radial roads for easy access and decongestion of the main Stadiou boulevard.⁶⁷ The square was embellished with elaborate gardens and statues of the classical antiquity and heroes of the Revolution addressing the idea of Plato's Academy.⁶⁸ The two Ionic columns with the statues of Apollo and Athena symbolised the entrance to the Academy and denoted elements of elegance and aesthetics in contrast to the simplicity and *monolithism* of the Doric. The Academy was the first academic institution of the Greek State, which symbolised the need and intention of a newly-founded society to address and explore cultural and philosophical issues.

⁶⁷ The University is not included in the first maps as plans for its design officially started much later in the 1880s. The first University was held in Kleanthis house in the old quarters of Athens.

⁶⁸ The Platonic idea of the Academy referred to a political system where the philosophers would be the political leaders of the State with the help of the army, the athletes, the farmers and some citizens. Plato's Academy was often depicted with two pillars standing in the landscape in an open area for an interaction of philosophy with nature.

The neoclassical building of the Academy addressed the issue of Modern Greek identity as the re-use of classical elements combined with contemporary Greek statues in proximity to religious buildings displayed a self-awareness of a mixed Greek identity in a European environment. The buildings of the Athenian Trilogy had vistas to the palace and the Acropolis, reinforcing therefore the argument of Otto's obsession to be connected with Pericles.

An interesting point to note here is the fact that the building of the Christian Education centre while facing the square turns its back to Otto's palace perhaps as a metaphorical disapproval of Otto's authority. For the Greeks the Church symbolised the Greek State and hence had the right of political authority. In the years that followed the construction of Athens the Church became quite powerful and influenced many political decisions.

Otto's palace (A on the map) at the centre of the new city had three ministries on either side. The whole block of the palace, the ministries and the gardens was to be the Administrative Centre. The palace was facing the Acropolis as a metaphorical parallel between ancient and modern Greece. The layout of the administrative centre is very interesting as it represents a military formation with the leader in the middle of the formation and the troops around, protecting him. The Palace in the centre was to be seen from any Ministry at 45°. ⁶⁹

To separate the palace from the rest of the city Kleanthis and Schaubert arranged four smaller boulevards to circulate the administrative centre, running from the back of the palace (marked A1) to either side (A2, A3) and the front of the gardens (A4). In a rectangular shape these smaller boulevards clearly marked the territory of the state's administration as no other private building was allowed to be built in the same block. The two side boulevards (A2 and A3) ended in two squares one leading to the commercial centre (marked A5) and the other to

⁶⁹ Here Schinkel's influence on Kleanthis is evident as the design of the 45° vistas was also deployed in the design of the Altes Museum. We can also draw parallels between the palace of Louis XIV at Marly, where the palace is also designed in the centre of the plan. For further references see Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona (Athens of the 19th until the 20th century)*, Melissa Publications, 1995.

the cultural centre (A6). The square outside the administrative centre (marked A7 on the map) was the “Square of the People” where the citizens of the city could interact with politicians and other administrative officers. The creation of different squares shows a pre-occupation with the aesthetics of the city and the enrichment of the citizens’ way of life. The smaller boulevards⁷⁰ around the palace were to protect the administrative centre, as the “official” part of the city, from traffic congestion and to set physical limits for accessing the site. What is interesting at this part of the city is that even though the architects were concerned with the embellishment of the administrative part still they chose to situate the central commercial market in front of the palace (marked N on the map) which would attract a flow of people. The market was held in an arcade with vistas on both sides of the structure and stretched up to the “Gardens of the People”.

On the east side of the city, Kleanthis and Schaubert designed the commercial part of the city. Off Piraeus Street they designed a market square as a central meeting point for the stock exchange building, the post office and some administrative buildings. The proposal of the square at the particular point was very well considered, as Piraeus Street was the boulevard that led to the port of Piraeus. The building of the post office was the central meeting point in the square as it could be accessed from both the south and the north. It served not only as a commercial building but also as a space for socialising, as the two-way access doors would permit a steady flow of people. All of the buildings around the square were designed to face each other developing therefore a complex of commercial buildings. The commercial square was connected to the slaughterhouses (Ω), the oil-press (Ψ) and the military barracks (X) in the outskirts of the city with Feidiou Street (marked in FS on the map). Feidiou Street facilitated the transportation of goods to be sold in the market. Kleanthis’ design followed the design principles of the time by placing all the industrial units in the outskirts of the city.

Moreover, Kleanthis envisaged the creation of Roman Baths for the citizens of Athens and designed a complex of Baths off Piraeus Street (marked Y on the map). The choice of the location of the Roman Baths is very interesting as he deliberately chose to place them closer

⁷⁰ Mpiris suggests that these boulevards were 38 metres long substantially smaller from the other boulevards and bigger than the normal streets running through the city. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona* (Athens

to the ancient quarters of the city to coincide with the symbolic purpose of the structure: socialising and exchange of political ideas and thoughts. The bath created feelings of spaciousness opening to a courtyard with surrounding colonnades. It was to be built from white marble in order to fit in with the surrounding architecture.

Of great importance in Kleanthis and Schaubert's plan is the careful attempt to include all existing antiquities in the new plan. For example in both plans they have diverted Hermou Street (marked H.S on the map) and created a circular square in order to save the old chapel of Kapnikarea (marked K.C on the map) and facilitate the access to it from all directions. Another example is Michaelmas Church in Theseion (marked TH on the map) where all surrounding buildings were designed in a considerable distance from it in order not to obstruct restoration.⁷¹ The surrounding area of the Acropolis was left intact in order to preserve its *authentic*⁷² character and display the ancient heritage as a whole. Mpiris mentions that the urban planning of Athens covered almost 2.890 acres of land of which 571, almost 20%, were gardens and squares.⁷³ Kleanthis' and Schaubert' plans visualised a city of future development.

Kleanthis and Schaubert gave Athens a complex European-like, urban planning. Except for the Palace, the Cathedral and the Acropolis the rest of its monumental buildings were treated as a unified design. They envisioned Athenians promenading the central commercial areas of Athens, through gardens and around the foothills of the Acropolis, which were to be terraced and landscaped. To relieve citizens of the summer heat and add an aesthetic touch to the new plan they proposed tree-lined streets, arcades and fountains (which however were never executed).⁷⁴ Each block was to have 10 to 15 houses and each house was to have a garden or terrace. Buildings that they thought did not fit the look of the city like the hospital, cemeteries and other military camps were placed in the outskirts.

of the 19th until the 20th century), Melissa Publications, 1996:28

⁷¹ Ibid. 1996:30

⁷² Here by authentic I assume the state in which the antiquities were found, i.e. as fragments in the landscape. Perhaps this way the visual impact on the Athenians would have been greater as they could witness the unearthing of the antiquities from the ground.

⁷³ Ibid 1996:30

In order to proceed with the first plan of Athens Kleanthis and Schaubert made a series of suggestions, which involved the demolition of a number of private properties for the creation of axial roads and other public buildings. With the new plan, private owners of buildings were forced to either demolish their properties or pass them on to the state, especially in areas where public buildings were to be built. Compensation would be given only after the Public Office of Works had evaluated a property. In the case of properties on archaeological sites, the proprietors would be compensated within 3 months and had the right to a new property in the outskirts of Athens, in 300 acres of land that the government had acquired for this purpose. All proprietors in the centre of Athens were obliged to construct within a year; otherwise the State would confiscate their land. All constructions were to comply with the proposed plan and the law of 6/18 March 1833, especially with regard to facades, building materials, height and decorative features.

Building outside the centre was allowed only in prescribed area. Under the new planning laws of the government, those who owned land in the old town of Athens and in and around the new developing areas managed to sell their land with ten times added value.⁷⁵ Those however whose lands were to be expropriated were given very little compensation and hence objected the new scheme. People were dissatisfied with the plan and asked for a reduction in the size of expropriated areas and for more funds to the Municipality of Athens to plan for the new economic developments. The government agreed to the new changes, which led to the revision of Kleanthis and Schaubert's plan.

Kleanthis and Schaubert's teachings in the Bauakademie are reflected through the appreciation of the existing Byzantine and Islamic architecture in Athens. During their studies at the Bauakademie, Wilhelm Stier, lectured on new architectural styles based on a profound appreciation of both medieval and Renaissance architecture.⁷⁶ Through him new ideas were born in the school, which later influenced Kleanthis and Schaubert as well. In his later architectural vocabulary, for example, Kleanthis has borrowed from the Gothic and

⁷⁴ Bastea, E. *The Creation of Modern Athens*, Cambridge University Press, 2000

⁷⁵ Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 18ou os tou 20ou Aiona (Athens from the 18th until the 20th century)*, Melissa Publications, 1996:31

⁷⁶ Fountoulaki, *Kleanthis*: 2.

Byzantine architecture which denotes both a theoretical acceptance of eclecticism and technical familiarity with different styles.

Another figure that greatly influenced Kleanthis and Schaubert's work was Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Schinkel had also explored medieval architecture although he remains a neoclassical architect. His influence came from his own work and his publications. The method of Schinkel's project management can be applied also in Kleanthis' designs. Schinkel conducted careful studies of the site he was working on and the budget and usually supported his design decisions by creating a list detailing the specific advantages it entailed.⁷⁷ Very much like Schinkel, Kleanthis and Schaubert wrote an extensive memorandum that accompanied the first plan in order to explain their design ideas and the applicability of their plan.

III.b Kleanthis' and Schaubert's Second Plan for Athens

The second plan is only a revised copy of the first plan, in that it does not have any significant changes in the layout of the cultural and commercial centres of Athens. The second plan for Athens survives in two copies, one in the Archaeological Society in Athens⁷⁸ and the other one in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. (Pl. 17) The Munich copy has the additional information of the date "1833 JULY 29/11" placed in the lower centre of the plan followed by the signature "DESIGNED BY KLEANTHIS AND SCHAUBERT" in small letters in the lower left hand side of the plate. In this map there is evidence of the preoccupation with the existing classical and Christian antiquities, as the architects have detailed accounts of all the existing antiquities worthy of preservation, in caption on either side of the map, with the most important ones, like the Acropolis and Hadrian's Gate, as reference points. It could be said that the second plan is a superimposition of the new city on to the old street pattern, revealing in this way a profound knowledge of urban planning along with the concern for urban conservation. The architects kept the same position for all the

⁷⁷ Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*: 60.

⁷⁸ Unfortunately, despite numerous visits to the Archaeological Society in Athens, the copy of the plan was unavailable to the public.

monumental buildings and boulevards but reduced their size in order to accommodate the needs of the landowners who were not compensated enough for the expropriated properties:

“The plan for the renovation of Athens which was drawn by architects Messrs, Kleanthis and Schaubert, and was submitted to us, along with explanatory remarks, on 8/20 December past year (meaning the year of 1832), is approved as it was finally determined according to the attached signed by us. This plan will be taken exactly under consideration of the buildings undertaken, and the proper authorities should by no means allow any deviation from the designated building lines and street lines”.⁷⁹

Under the revised plan, all of the major boulevards Piraeus Street, Stadiou Street and Athinas Street were reduced in width from 22 to 20 meters. The addition of rectangular and semicircular gardens near the palace formalised the middle boulevard. Axial streets were also reduced from 15 to 12 meters. The central market (marked N on the map) was reduced in size from 40 to 20 meters keeping therefore most of the properties in the area. Stylistically their plan presents a refined and integrated whole.

Six building blocks surrounding the palace have been substituted by symmetrical gardens with the more extensive one behind the palace. The geometric relationship of the various building parts has been strengthened and the public space increased, giving therefore grandeur and superiority to the overall design. Even though Kleanthis and Schaubert were students of Schinkel, still there is no document to support Schinkel's active involvement in the plans for Athens. The only document that mentions Schinkel was written in January 1832 from Schaubert to a friend in Berlin:

“We are busy with the precise recording of the plan of Athens: as soon as we finish it, we will take the liberty of sending a tracing of it to Building Director Schinkel, with the annotations of the recently found antiquities, in order to find out his most desirable opinion”.⁸⁰ Although Margaret Kühn suggests that the second design for Athens

⁷⁹ von Nordenflycht, J. *Briefe einer Hofdame in Athen an eine Freundin in Deutschland*, 1837-1842, Leipzig, 1845:492, cited in Laios, G. *O Pyrgos ths Vasilissas (The Tower of the Queen)*, Athens 1977:46

⁸⁰ Papageorgiou-Venetas, A. *Hauptstadt Athen*, Munich Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1994:36

“presupposes a long-term interaction with urban tasks”.⁸¹ I believe that the similarities found in the proposals by Kleanthis and Schaubert and the design style of Schinkel are only to be attributed to the teachings of the Bauakademie. Kleanthis and Schaubert in both their plans for Athens use the same pattern of a small oval garden regularly subdivided behind the palace. The same design can be found in Schinkel’s proposal for the Lustgarten in Berlin designed in the summer of 1828. (Pl. 18) Even if one was inclined to suggest that the same architect designed both this does not prove that Schinkel’s contribution extended beyond this particular detail. Another point that contradicts Kühn’s suggestion of Schinkel’s involvement is the fact that, as the historian Papageorgiou-Venetas (1994) suggests, if Schinkel was indeed actively involved in the design for the plans for Athens, he would have liked to take credit for them.⁸² In my opinion, the two plans do not represent drastic changes to suggest Schinkel’s involvement. What Kühn has ignored is the architects’ renewed confidence in their design. Let us not forget that when they produced the first design they had just graduated from the Bauakademie and in a way were still experimenting with geometry and urban forms. If the architects had actually worked for Schinkel they could have drawn or copied motifs from him and would have certainly been influenced by his inspiring teachings and designs. In addition, as mentioned above, the plan was submitted to the Greek government on 20 December 1832 Schaubert went to Berlin on 29 March/11 April 1833 and returned in September of the same year.⁸³ The plan of Athens, as noted before, was accepted on 29 June/11 July 1833 while Schaubert was still in Germany. This implies that even if he consulted personally with Schinkel, he could not have made any changes to the submitted plan.

⁸¹ Kühn, *Schinkel*: 515-517

⁸² Ibid, 1994:36-39

⁸³ “Parmi ces trois architectes [Kleanthis, Schaubert and their assistant Lüders] M.Schaubert avait demandé et obtenu un congés. Il était parti à bord du bateau à Vapeur Royal le Mercure le 29 Mars/11 Avril 1833 pour l’Allemagne: il en est revenu au mois de Septembre”. GAK Ministry of the Interior, Otto’s Archive, f.220,

III.c The International Character of Athens through Kleanthis' and Schaubert's designs

The designs of New Athens were to celebrate the city as a new European capital and express through architecture Modern Greek national identity. The plan bears many similarities to earlier examples of monumental royal residencies like the one of Versailles for Louis XIV. Like in the plan of Versailles, the royal palace was the centrepiece with three major boulevards running from the palace to the Acropolis or to the town of Versailles. The glory of the King was proclaimed through an imposing and rich structure in the landscape and urban planning.

The plans had the same organising principles as the urban designs of its time: The palace of the King is the focal point of the new design and antiquities are taken into account to establish symbolic attributes, like the Acropolis. A main square lies in front of the palace and three boulevards connect the palace with existing antiquities and the outskirts of the city and the countryside. Although proposals for other towns had been made by that time, Kleanthis' and Schaubert's plans represent a coherent geometric scheme and articulated a programme as the plan for the capital. For example the later plan of the architects for Eretria in 1834, exhibited a simple, utilitarian plan which hardly represented the architects' earlier grand designs. (Pl. 19) Eretria was originally designed for the refugees of the island of Hydra and because of its access to the sea attracted the majority of fishermen.⁸⁴

Kleanthis and Schaubert's plans may also have been influenced by their familiar city of Berlin. During the 1820s Kleanthis and Schaubert lived in Berlin where they had undertaken major architectural projects. These projects must have been large and small-scale plans, similar to those carried out in Berlin by Schinkel. A characteristic element of their designs is the correlation between abstract geometry and actual design. Particular attention

document dated 23 Nov./5 December 1833, entitled *Sur la position et les relations des architectes Mssrs, Cléanthes et Schaubert [sic] vis-a-vis le corps du Génie*.

⁸⁴ A copy of the plan can be found at GAK, Ministry of the Interior, Otto's Archive, f.219, dated 13/25 September 1834.

was given to the existing antiquities in the city and the fine balance between the old and the new.

Nineteenth century Athens' plan was unaffected by the weak political and economic situation outside the borders of Athens. It was similar, however, to the grandiose designs of the monumental buildings in Corfu, Keffalonia and Zante, which the French ruled at the time. Contrary to Bastea's opinion that Athens had little influence outside the borders of Greece⁸⁵, I believe that Athens had a dual influence outside its borders. First of all for the Greeks themselves, the city of Athens was the new cultural and economic capital of the whole state. New Athens was the ideal example of how Greek cities might be, especially while under German influence. We could suggest therefore, that under the stimulus of Athens' grandeur other cities in Greece would choose to revolt against Turkish occupation. On the other hand, new Athens materialised the cultural ambitions of Europe, as a European capital that had comprehended the glory and importance of its classical heritage.⁸⁶ Nineteenth century Athens was the ultimate experiment of modern Europe as a rigid landscape with a rich past and cultural heritage. The antiquities of Athens and Rome were greatly appreciated and were considered as *European Heritage*. Considered within the context of other nineteenth century European capitals, the new plan for Athens symbolised the country's rebirth and westernisation. A predecessor in shaping European symbolic architecture, Napoleon, tried to connect political liberation with urban restructuring at the turn of nineteenth century. Upon capturing Milan in the 1800s, he declared Milan the capital of Italy alongside Paris and Vienna, the other two Napoleonic capitals of his Empire. His plan for Milan consisted of a grand circle surrounded by state buildings, shops, theatres and a pantheon: "conceived as both commemorative and an administrative centre, it bore no relationship to either the traditional administrative centre of the city or the local scale, being "at least four times as large as the city's largest and most important urban space, the Piazza

⁸⁵ Bastea suggests that the design of nineteenth century Athens, "unlike Versailles, ...exerted little influence outside the borders of Greece, a new country with a weak political and economic international standing" cited in *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 2000:82, Cambridge University Press.

del Duomo".⁸⁷ Although the plan was never executed, the scale and symbolism of the plan influenced future planning commissions.

The plan for Modern Athens was the first conception of a centralised urban space, as most of the plan was organised around the palace and the monarch. On the other hand Athens' modernisation involved the creation of a stock exchange, a bank, shops, theatres, the restoration of the Panathinaiko Stadium where the first Olympic Games took place, and other cultural institutions. (Pl. 20)

Despite this elaborate plan though, the epitome of the *Europeanisation* of Athens came with the creation of a parliamentary building and ministries. Modern Athens was perceived as a capital city that, although based on traditional values of grid planning built around the King and his palace, incorporated commercial, cultural and political activities. Europe perceived Athens as an *urban reality* rather than an *urban theory* in that the architects involved did not try to fully recreate Paris or Berlin.

Athens was approached with a level of superiority and became the urban reality of a neo-classical model as the ultimate dream of every European planner, architect and administrator: *the rebirth of Classical Athens*. Greece was not a colony per se but the sovereign kingdom of a Bavarian King and the economic and partially political creation of France, Great Britain and Russia. Evidence of the European involvement in the building process was the appointment of Western-trained architects, like Kleanthis and other Bavarian and Prussian architects like Schaubert, Hansen and Zinas. Other established centres were also undergoing urban changes in the nineteenth century. For example the urban fabric of Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, was methodically restructured, reflecting the westernising transformations of the administration.⁸⁸ Modern Greece had two capitals: Athens as the economic and cultural capital of the new state and Constantinople as the religious capital. Therefore by westernising the urban fabric of Constantinople, Bavarians, Prussians and Greeks were trying to include Byzantium in the Western perception of Greek

⁸⁷ Bastea, E. *The Creation of Modern Athens*, Cambridge University Press, 2000:83

⁸⁸ Zeynep Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the nineteenth century*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986

neo-classicism. If Constantinople was accepted as the religious capital of the Neo-Greek state, the Greeks would have managed to differentiate themselves from the East and appear as a European country. As the major planning prototypes were Western, the Greeks decided to copy these types for their private living environments and often competed with their European counterparts. Native models that resisted those of the West became apparent in Greece a lot later after 1910 when Athenian neo-classical architecture had been established as Greece's monumental state architecture.

The plan for new Athens reflected the aspirations of the time. In the process of its implementation it came to symbolise and even embody the country's national identity, which was based on the classical past and had a European present and future. It is ambiguous whether Kleanthis and Schaubert had realised the influence and multiple meanings of their urban proposals:

“As honourable as this commission was, we did not undertake the solution to this relatively difficult task without misgivings. The work was made even more difficult by the fact that we did not know whether to envision Athens as a future capital or a mere provincial city, nor did we know the extent of the resources that the government planned to use for its construction in either one of the cases.

Being in such doubt, we believed we had better foundations following public opinion in Greece and the collective expectation of the Hellenes: thus in our work we imagined Athens to be the future capital of Hellas and the seat of the King. On this supposition we have based the plan, which we now have the honour of presenting to the ministry and we beg permission to add it a few explanatory remarks.”⁸⁹

The plan for Athens took on new meanings and scale once it started to be realised in Athens. Issues of nationalism, identity, modernity and private property started to be realised in the urban fabric not only as a political aspiration but also as a national vision.

⁸⁹ My emphasis, Kleanthis, S. and Schaubert, E. *Explanation for the Plan of the City of New Athens, 1832*. Appendix C.

In the end however, Bavarian architects and planners did not approve of the new design, claiming that the new changes compromised the urban plan for Athens as the design might have to change in the future according to the needs of different landowners. Kleanthis' and Schaubert's plan for New Athens was never fully executed as the price of land increased and the funds of the new state were unable to meet the rising expropriation costs. Public criticism was directed both towards the architects and the government which ultimately declared the proposal unrealistic.

IV. Leon von Klenze: New Plans for Athens, 1834

After the rejection of the Kleanthis/Schaubert plan, King Ludwig, Otto's father commissioned the Bavarian architect, Leon von Klenze to present new designs for the city of Athens. In July 1834 Klenze arrived in Athens to study the landscape and start planning the urban fabric.⁹⁰ (Pl. 21)

Klenze was an experienced architect who had previously been involved in the design of the Munich Glyptothek, in 1816, again after Ludwig's approval. He was born in 1784 and moved to Berlin in 1800 where he began his architecture studies under David Gilly and his son Friedrich. In Berlin, Klenze met Schinkel who was also studying under the Gillys. In 1803 he travelled to Paris where until 1806 he attended the École Polytechnique. At the time, the theories of Jean- Nicolas- Louis Durand on functionalism and formal symmetry were dominant at the École and one can detect their influence on Klenze's later work. He also worked in the architectural office of Pierre-François Fontaine and Charles Percier who worked extensively for Napoleon and his family. Fontaine's and Percier's designs reflected the ideas of classical design through their repetitive geometry and very interestingly displayed the exuberant synthesis of neo-Gréc, Empire style. In Klenze's architectural work we can detect the lessons of his French education. From 1806 to 1807 he travelled in Italy in order to study the antiquities of Rome.

⁹⁰ Further information on Klenze's arrival can be found in Ross, *Erinnerungen*: 92

In 1814, he met Ludwig, at the time Crown Prince of Bavaria, and it was the beginning of a series of works commissioned by him. In 1822, Klenze designed the Pinakothek, also in Munich, that was to house the royal collection of paintings. However Klenze's most emblematic contribution has to be the Valhalla, a German Pantheon of Norse mythology, inspired by Greek and Roman temples. (Pl. 22) Ludwig, who at the time was the King of Bavaria, had the idea for the national monument.⁹¹

The plan for Athens was Klenze's first official urban design project. He believed that the city would be better situated on the west and south sides of the Acropolis, where there would be a better protection from sea winds.⁹² (Pl. 21) He criticised Kleanthis' design for the palace and the parliament house in the centre of the new design with vistas to the Acropolis, the Stadium and Piraeus and objected to the location of the Central Market on Athinas Street as this might give way to luxurious shops against the residential character of the area.

He based his design on a triangle of Feidiou⁹³ (A1 on the map), Hermou (A2) and Piraeus Street (A3), preserving the three major boulevards that connected the palace with the Acropolis. Feidiou Street provided access to the Athenian Trilogy (marked AT on the map) and ended in Feidou Square (marked FSQ) where another cultural institution was placed. The Square of the Athenian Trilogy was juxtaposed to Aischylou Square (ASQ) creating a metaphor of the pedagogical character of the squares. The access to the Trilogy was from Sofokleous Street, just off the main boulevard as an attempt to make more exclusive and private the academic centre. By not providing direct access to the University, the Academy and the National Library and by creating physical boundaries with the use of gardens surrounding the square, the space became private, available only to those who had the social status and the economic ease to become members. The small access road Sofokleous street

⁹¹ On Klenze see Hereder, Oswald. *Leo von Klenze*, Munich: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1964, 2nd ed. 1981. Also the exhibition catalog Glyptothek München, *Ein griechischer Traum: Leo von Klenze, der Archäologe*, Munich: Glyptothek München, 1986.

⁹² Leon von Klenze, *Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland*, Berlin 1838:419

⁹³ Feidiou Street is the previous Stadiou Street on Kleanthis' design, which connects the Stadium with the city centre and the Acropolis. The reason probably why he chose to change the name of the boulevard was as a tribute to Feidias, one of the architects of the Acropolis. Since all boulevards were indicative of their point of origin and purpose Feidiou Street seemed more appropriate to signify the "cultural part" of the city with all the academies and other cultural institutions.

separated the Trilogy from the rest of the city, emphasising therefore its significance in the new urban design as the intellectual epicentre of Modern Athens. The Academy (marked A² on the map) was the central building of the Trilogy, surrounded on either side by the University (Y) on the left and the National Library (F²) on the right. All the buildings had views to the Acropolis as a symbolic reference to what the Academy means and what modern Greeks might become. Interestingly, Klenze named all connecting streets after ancient Greek philosophers in order to be appropriate to his educational theme. In this way, by creating references to ancient Greek heritage, new buildings seemed more authentic and appropriate to the national character of the state.

Klenze's major difference from Kleanthis and Schaubert was the relocation of the palace and the surrounding ministries. He removed them from Otto's square to the area between the Aeropagos and the hill of the Nymphs, near the Theiseion (Temple of Hephaestus). He explained that because of the uneven elevation of the original position the ministries on the west side would be 20 feet lower than those on the east.⁹⁴

Klenze placed the palace on the commercial side of the city not directly opposite the Acropolis as in Kleanthis' design. The Greek Cathedral is now the centre of the new city with vistas of the Acropolis (marked X on the map). It is possible that, in this way, Klenze wanted to bring together the political authority and the people of Athens, by providing them with a rhetorical denial of Otto's authority while emphasising the importance of the Church in the newly-founded state. He did this by placing the Greek Cathedral at the top of the urban triangle of Feidiou, Hermou and Piraeus Streets. Moreover he changed the shape of Otto's Square from rectangular to circular and proposed the erection of the Church of the Saviour there: "The Square (he argued) does not need the view of a palace, but with a tall church it would afford a nice view at the end of the three major boulevards".⁹⁵ His claim that the square, referring to the people who are using it, "does not need the view of a palace" further emphasises my point of a rhetorical denial of Otto's authority.

⁹⁴ Ibid. *Aphoristische*: 435-436.

⁹⁵ Ibid. *Aphoristische*: 443.

At this point it is important to note that Klenze had to avoid the public criticism of expensive state monuments made out of costly materials that celebrated more Otto's political authority than reflected the Modern Greek idea of a city with clean running water, hospitals and houses for the people. This idea was not however, entirely Klenze's as first of all he himself was commissioned by Otto's father, as the principal architect of the Bavarian court, to draft new designs for Athens. Therefore he could not have opposed Otto's kingship. The fact that he describes Otto's palace and the Academy with the same letter in his plans (A for Otto's palace and A² for the Academy) reveals an intrinsic belief in Otto's social and political status. The belief in Otto's rule as an administrative and political institution is as significant as the belief in the Academy as an educational institution. Both parties were seen as fundamental to Greek nationhood. The palace was designed at the entrance of the city surrounded by elaborate gardens for privacy. Next to the palace the administrative square Benefactors' Square (marked BFS on the map) included the Parliament House (D), the ministries of the state (E), Athens's central station (B), and the Central Wagon-shed (C). It is interesting to note how Klenze used the administrative square as a socialising point for the upper class, who could afford transportation. While succeeding in that, he also manages to decongest the centre by placing the central station and wagon-shed which would attract plenty of visitors, in the outskirts of the city. Hermou and Piraeus Street connected the administrative centre with the rest of the city.

Off Piraeus Street, Ludwig Square (LS), named in tribute to King Ludwig of Munich, included the post-office (L), the police station (M) and the prison (J). Piraeus Street ended to Otto Square (OS) where the Greek Cathedral was the focal point that joined the commercial with the cultural part of the city. Otto's piazza was circular with elaborate gardens running all around it. Mpiris (1995) notes that Klenze's plan for Athens develops more on open land rather than on previously privately owned land as a further attempt to prevent public dissatisfaction.

The road that connected the Cathedral with the Acropolis was called Nikis Street (marked B1 on the map), meaning Victory Street. The specific name of the street is very significant as Klenze implies that the victory of the rebirth of the Greek State starts from the

Orthodox Church and ends up in its classical heritage, the Acropolis and the Ancient Greek civilisation. The rest of the city with its allegorical architectural designs, of the Trilogy, Otto's administrative centre, the market, the post-office and the Baths are within this confluence. The Trilogy, the administrative centre and the commercial centre are all part of the process of being Greeks by following the classical education of the ancient Greeks and Europeans by establishing a modern commercial centre in the heart of the city.

In addition, following the romantic ideas of freedom of structure and light compositions he proposed colonnaded stoas and projected plants and palm trees in the gardens. He also suggested the narrowing of almost all of the proposed streets and squares in order to satisfy the landowners who complained about the proportion of the old city to the new. In contrast to Kleanthis and Schaubert who had proposed many new streets in the old town, Klenze preserved the old street pattern and added a few new streets to the extension of Athens. Therefore by reducing the number of new streets in the old town, he avoided the dissatisfaction of the landowners and surrounded the old city with the new urban fabric. However, as Philippides⁹⁶ notes, Klenze was less insightful when it came to the preservation of Byzantine monuments. For example, he removed from his design the Church of Kapnikarea which was in the middle of Hermou Street. He further recommended the removal of most postclassical structures from the Acropolis Hill emphasising the other end of the spectrum where Europe was not so much interested in the preservation of the Byzantine past. He did recommend however, the preservation of the fourteenth century Florentine and Venetian structures on the Acropolis remarking their picturesque contribution to the landscape.

Klenze in accordance with eighteenth century ideas about fortification, rejected Kleanthis' proposal for multiple entrances to the city and "...created an enclosed (monolithic) settlement".⁹⁷ This is possibly the reason why he diverted Stadiou Street from the destination from which it received its name, to Feidiou Street, allowing therefore only two main accesses to the city from the east and the west. Both entrances were from Piraeus and Feidiou Street,

⁹⁶ Philippides, Dimitris. *Neoellhnike Architectonike (Neoclassical Architecture)*, Athens, Melissa 1984

⁹⁷ Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 18ou os tou 20ou Aiona (Athens from the 18th until the 20th century)*, Melissa Publications, 1995:39

hence controlling the amount of traffic that entered the city. The new design was to be developed on the south side of the classical city, keeping in line with the classical cityscape design. Klenze admired southern cities. He wrote in his *Aphoristische*: “The streets and squares here are smaller, often straight, but of short length and the major roads follow the contours of the ground. These southern towns are more picturesque [malerisch] and with far greater variations than the northern ones, as they are in harmony with the beauty of an ideal architecture and the proud character of the southern peoples”.⁹⁸ Klenze goes further to compare his designs to modern urban paradigms and recognizes the deeper principles of freedom and individuality of Greek art in his own work: “And since I have seen the prototypes of straight lines, wide places, broad streets, geometrically regulated city boredom in Petersburg, this love in me [for the picturesque] has become stronger”.⁹⁹ Schinkel, the long distant friend of Klenze, had the same impatience with established design principles when designed Otto’s palace. As I have mentioned before, Schinkel was appointed to design the residence of Otto on the Acropolis hill. Schinkel in his elaborate design, created a romantic complex. (Pl. 23) Axial symmetry was used with measure, and colonnades and open courts unified the design and adapted it to southern design. Watkin comments on Schinkel that he attempted “to move away from the worn neo-Italian and neo-French principles, where the misunderstanding of the term symmetry has caused so much hypocrisy and boredom”.¹⁰⁰ Of course his design was never executed, with the excuse that there was no water available of the Acropolis Hill.¹⁰¹

Klenze’s proposal for the palace (Pl. 24) appears to have been inspired by the same ideas of free arrangement and compositions filled with light. Klenze tried to connect nature with

⁹⁸ Klenze does not make any specific reference to a particular “southern” city. Klenze, *Aphoristische*: 438.

⁹⁹ Kühn, *Schinkel*: 520. Klenze wrote on 26 Nov. 1838 to Ross: “What is the value of the boring modern cities next to the rich malerisch compositions without geometric rules, placed one on top of the other, piles on top of the ancient buildings?” Letter by Klenze to Ross, Kiel, Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, *Nachlass Ludwig Ross*, Kühn, *Schinkel*. Klenze also in his *Aphoristische*: 431 makes reference to northern cities.

¹⁰⁰ Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal*: 114. On Schinkel’s palace see also Pundt, *Schinkel’s Berlin*: 89-91 and Russack, *Deutsche bauen in Athen*: 37-43.

¹⁰¹ Pundt, *Schinkel’s Berlin*: 90 note 22. Another source states that Schinkel’s proposal was rejected by King Ludwig who said that “nothing new should be allowed to be built on the Acropolis. The respected monuments of antiquity should not be mixed with the new buildings. The palace should be located at a place where neither bullet nor bomb could reach it”. Trost Ludwig. *König Ludwig I. von Bayern in seinen Briefen an seinen Sohn den König Otto von Griechenland*, Bamberg, 1981: 41, cited in Laios, Georgios, *O Pyrgos ths Vasilissas (The Tower of the Queen)*, Athens, 1977.

architecture through an interlude of colonnaded stoas and projected plants and palm trees in the gardens.

On the 18/30 September 1834 Klenze's plan for the New City of Athens was approved and he returned to Munich. In Munich he produced his final designs for the royal palace where he published them in his work *Sechs Lithographien zu Leo von Klenzes Reise nach Griechenland* (Berlin 1838). Klenze remained deeply influenced by the confrontation of classical Greek and contemporary architecture. While contemporary architecture was dominated by a system of axes and symmetry, ancient Greek architecture emphasised plasticity and organic development. The relationship of the buildings was not dictated by a system of absolute geometry but rather by a more organic approach: the buildings acknowledging the landscape and their settings. Klenze wanted to show through his designs the true ideals of Greek architecture about freedom of planning and *the design of a city for its citizens*.¹⁰²

Klenze's idea of *a city for its citizens* indicates a dynamic/progressive relationship between the city and its residents. A "city" includes physical assets such as land, buildings and streets. It also includes information-based infrastructures, such as monetary, legal and court systems. By provisioning and managing these assets, the city houses and protects its citizens, and enables them to interact with each other and satisfy their basic needs.

Klenze designed a city which "encloses" its citizens within a protective border where city governance works to maintain order in the form of a consistent "internal" environment where citizens can live, work and socialise in harmony. The fact alone that Klenze altered the names of the main boulevards, Athinas to Hermou Street and Stadiou to Feidiou to differentiate him from the ones of Kleanthis' and Schaubert's design, made his urban design different, more concerned with urban problems of transportation and traffic and ideals of social interaction which would provide modern Athenians with visual patterns that would help them to situate themselves in their new urban environment. Some of these visual patterns dealt with the flux of human activity in order to assist in the co-ordination of human

¹⁰² Philippides, Dimitris. *Neoellhnike Architekonike (Neoclassical Architecture)*, Athens, Melissa 1984:27

behaviour with the environment, like for instance, the attractiveness of colourful, elaborate gardens in the middle of the city and especially near Otto's palace and the Athenian Trilogy. However in the case of Klenze's design, visual patterns of architectural symmetry and clarity of design were commissioned to rather mask the existing social reality of upcoming social hierarchies in Athens.

Klenze's plan for Athens separated the Old town from the New, in an effort to keep the existing antiquities and urban plan intact and apply new ideas to the new fabric of the nineteenth century city. The new city projected the administrative and cultural power of the state and focused less on commercial services and public housing. In contrast to the old compact cityscape, the new plan urged the creation of major boulevards that connected the different state buildings and facilitated the movement around the city. That resulted in the opening up of the city and even though they were actually scaled down from Kleanthis' and Schaubert's plan, they introduced extensive use of open streets and a deliberate crossways system within the city. In addition, with the opening up of boulevards major structural differences were now evident. The new design did not take into account the pre-existing differentiations within and outside the Roman walls. Instead, it reflected a homogenous urban environment with focal points the neoclassical state buildings and well preserved antiquities that were disengaged from their surroundings. As a result, the emergence of private buildings and other social structures caused to reverse the sharp structural and urban differentiation of the rich and the poor, the locals and the foreigners, the tradesmen and the intellectuals. It became evident that no plan could prevent these differentiations from surfacing as the homogeneity and superficial structural symmetry of the new quarters eventually eroded with the emergence of the basic shelters of the poor and other private buildings.

Many scholars of the time believed that the separation of the Old city from the New widened the gap between Modern Greeks and their ancestors, and who isolated the ancient city from the modern one projecting their past as a scientific object, a forgotten past. The new design however was perceived by many Greeks as the time for change, the expression of a different era where strong political and social changes took place. This new design was of course a European (principally Bavarian) affair, proclaimed by Leon von Klenze in his

memoirs. Indicative of the European state of affairs was the German Debate of the 1820s in Berlin in *Which Style should we build*, where public symbolism and architectural innovation were trying to find a way within the modern urban fabric.

The nineteenth century was a time when ancient Greece was rediscovered and European schools of architecture and art encouraged their students to complete their studies by visiting major architectural sites. The creation of Modern Athens was looked at as the keystone between the past and the present. Indicative of this view is Klenze's address to Otto during the King's visit to the Acropolis and the surrounding antiquities:

“(You have) stepped today, after so many centuries of barbarism, for the first time on his celebrated Acropolis, proceeding on the road of civilisation and glory, on the road passed by the likes of Themistocles, Aristidis, Kimon, and Pericles, and this is and should be in the eyes of your people the symbol of a glorious reign ..All the remains of barbarity will be removed, here as in all of Greece, and the remains of the glorious past will be brought in new light, as the solid foundation of a glorious present and future. I dare request Your Majesty, in the name of Greece and of the whole world, to sanctify, as is customary, the first marble that is being restored in the reborn Parthenon, being the best assurance that this undertaking will proceed successfully”.¹⁰³

Moreover, Klenze in his memoirs, records the satisfaction and joy of his new project: “only two moments of joy and satisfaction stand out: the moment of the beginning of the restoration of the most beautiful monument in the world -the Parthenon- and of the foundation of the Valhalla, where I was allowed to compete with the creator of Parthenon”.¹⁰⁴ Bastea suggests on this point that Klenze's comment is revealing in that by positing his Valhalla against the Parthenon, Klenze describes a relationship with the past that is, conceptually, reminiscent of Schinkel's.¹⁰⁵ Even though both architects were geographically far from each other they enter into a dialogue with each other: Klenze from a distance compared his Valhalla with the Parthenon, and Schinkel in physical proximity,

¹⁰³ Meliarakes, A. *Ekdhlōsh sthn Akropoli ton Athenon (Ceremony on the Acropolis of Athens)*, *Hestia*, vol.18, no. 477, 22 July 1884

¹⁰⁴ Klenze, *Aphoristische Bemerkungen*, 387, cited in Bastea, Eleni, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, Cambridge University Press, 2000:103

incorporated in his design for the palace the pre-existing classical antiquities of the Acropolis. In nineteenth century Athens this dialogue re-emerged between artists and architects, like in seventeenth century Europe. The influence of Greece's classical past shaped the vision of the architects involved in the design for new Athens. Like Goethe, the father of German Romanticism, Schinkel never visited Athens, practising what was called "Greek abstinence" avoiding one could say the real confrontation with Greece in order to preserve the ideal vision of a *classical* world. This idealised vision of Athens is presented in his painting *A View of Greece in its Prime* in 1824-25.

Leon von Klenze stayed in Greece for only four months in 1834 and, through his painting *Ideal View of Athens with the Acropolis and the Areios Pagos* in 1846, depicts his romantic vision of a classical Greece. Even though his depictions are more realistic and detailed, depicting the Greek landscape, with the existing antiquities and the diversity of the Athenian residents, Klenze keeps alive the romantic tradition of Greece that inspired the whole Beaux-Arts movement at the time.

Up to the 1900s Modern Athens presented its neoclassical state monuments of the Athenian Trilogy, the intellectual centre, the Palace, the Greek cathedral, the Archaeological Museum and the Parliament House. Having changed in authorship it reflected the new character of Athens by involving more contemporary Greek values and local needs. This process however did not move away from the European planning of the New Myth, the reconstruction of Classical Greek State building. Throughout the Modern Greek history of nation-building there is an invisible gap between the needs of the locals, evident through the fierce criticism of monumental buildings, and the aspirations of their European neighbours.

The specific architecture evident in Modern Greece was not simply a choice of its citizens; it was, rather, a more elaborate and deliberate attempt to construct a Greek identity based on the classical past. The adoption of neoclassical architecture for Greece was rather a continuation of a German tradition of nation building that was reflected in the previous debates *In which style should we build?* The philosophical background of this debate, as we

¹⁰⁵ Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 2000.

saw in the previous chapter, dictated the return to classical roots, moving away from the mystical character of Gothic architecture. All architects involved in the rebuilding of Athens, Kleanthis, Schaubert, Klenze and Schinkel, tried to recreate a national architecture that was authentic Greek, free and southern. The authenticity of Modern Greek architecture would be revealed in the shadow of the pre-existing classical monuments.

V. The European Legacy

Different prototypes benefited the design of Modern Athens. The utilitarian approach of the previous years, of orthogonal grid planning was entirely unfit for royal residences and government seats. The general ideas behind Kleanthis', Schaubert's and Klenze's plans were taught in many architecture schools in France and the Italian and German States. Architecture and planning were called upon to define the identities of newly-founded states and marked the progress of established states. The differences between planning and architecture were due to the particular political and social conditions of each place.

The plan for New Athens was to satisfy three goals: first to celebrate the city as the seat of a centralised monarchical government, secondly to pay homage to the existing antiquities in the Greek landscape and prove Modern Greece worthy of its classical inheritance and thirdly to accommodate the existing town and the huge numbers of refugees coming from Turkey and occupied islands. In Europe, different states faced the same problem of architecture and planning as the symbol of national identity.

For example in France the first monumental royal residence was the court of Versailles created for Louis XIV. The focus of the design, as mentioned before, was the royal palace. Three major boulevards departed from the palace square, radiating towards the existing town of Versailles. Geometrical gardens further supported the concept of the glorification of the king through the means of landscape and urban planning. The plan of Versailles, once the epitome of absolutist planning, is the earliest example of extensive town

planning whose methods of implementing are similar to today.¹⁰⁶ (Pl. 25) Kleanthis' and Schaubert's plan for Athens, although inherently more modest in scale, encompassed the design principles of the Versailles plan. Also, in the Greek plan, the focus of attention is now the royal palace with the main square in front of it and three boulevards extended to the old town. Like in the Versailles plan, the middle boulevard was emphasised with tree lines and vistas connecting the palace with the Acropolis hill. (Pl. 17)

Another example that would have been familiar to all the architects involved in Athens would have been the city of Karlsruhe¹⁰⁷, founded in 1715 by Karl Wilhelm on the banks of the Rhine. Karlsruhe was planned with the palace (*Schloss*) at the center and 32 streets radiating out from it like fan, giving the nickname "fan city" (*Fächerstadt*) to Karlsruhe. There again the palace was located at the centre of the radial design. The town served only as the setting for monumental perspectives. Benevolo mentions that in the beginning of the nineteenth century Friedrich Weinbrenner was commissioned as the main architect in charge of several public and private buildings which further unified the image of the city.¹⁰⁸ The arrangement of the palace, the Market place and the entrances and exits of the main boulevards might have had direct reference to Kleanthis and Schaubert's design for Athens. (Pl. 26) Apart from the necessary differences in their execution and scale, the plans for Modern Athens corresponded to international models of royal residences and not so much to the designing styles during Kapodistrias' rule.¹⁰⁹ They did however, as mentioned before, set the example for national architecture and urban planning in Modern Greece.

Berlin, as the place where both Kleanthis and Schaubert studied and worked, provides another significant precedent to the Athenian situation. Berlin, unlike Karlsruhe and Versailles was not designed to satisfy the political vanity of a single ruler. Berlin was founded in the thirteen century across the banks of the river Spree. By the eighteen century

¹⁰⁶ Lavedan et al. *L'urbanisme à l'époque moderne* : 90-94. Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, vol. 2: 741.

¹⁰⁷ The city takes its name from Karl Wilhelm of Baden-Durlach, who founded the city in 1715. Karlsruhe was the capital of Baden-Durlach until 1771 and thereafter the capital of Baden until 1945.

¹⁰⁸ Benevolo, *ibid.* vol. 2: 896-901. Further information on Weinbrenner can be found at Sica, *Storia dell'urbanistica: I: Il Settecento*: 123-126. Sica has a separate section on Weinbrenner's building programme.

Berlin was unified with Cölln to serve as the capital of Prussia. The major urban interventions of the seventeenth century took place outside the historic city, contrasting their orderly layout with the earlier matrix. Similarly Kleanthis and Schaubert decided to focus their design outside the existing town, reflecting in this way their idea of new and old quarters. Schinkel's most famous project, the Lustgarten across from the royal palace, was the main planning innovation in Berlin, which aimed to bring hierarchy and order in the existing fabric of the city. Once an open space, it became more structured with the addition of a museum across from the palace, landscaping and planting.¹¹⁰ (Pls. 27 & 28) Kleanthis and Schaubert realised the value of small interventions on the existing urban fabric and although the design for the new city was different from the old, we can still see similarities of symmetry and regularity. In a way, we might say that in all the architects' planning we see the beginning of a reaction against absolutist planning. I have already mentioned how both Klenze and Schinkel criticised the tyranny of the straight line and the boredom of geometrically regulated cities.¹¹¹ The architect and archaeologist A.F. Ferdinand von Quast in his *Mittheilungen über Alt und Neuathen* (1834) severely criticised Kleanthis and Schaubert's plan for Athens. The criticisms of Quast lie in the fact that he believed that by creating effectively two separate cities, the architects widened the gap between ancient Greeks and modern Greeks and isolated the city as dead ground, important only for archaeological study. Instead, Quast believed that if the architects had chosen the area between the Acropolis hill, the Aeropagos and Lycabetus, they would have secured a continuation of tradition, unlike "the faulty base that divides this historical town in regular blocks like Washington, New York and Philadelphia".¹¹² (Pl. 29). Quast's objections did not

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that this discussion focuses on the proposed plans and not the ones that were actually executed. After all Greece's socio-economic circumstances were a lot more severe than both France and Germany which prevented the original grandiose plans of the architects from being realised.

¹¹⁰ Pundt, *ibid*: 140-156.

¹¹¹ For further details on the German debate about regularity and the boredom of absolutism see Collins, G. Camillo Sitte: *The Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York: Rizzoli, 1986. Especially chapter 2 on *The state of City Planning in Germany and Austria*, gives a very good overview of the intellectual climate of the time.

¹¹² Von Quast Ferdinand, Alexander. Essay in *Museum*, ed. Franz Kugler, 1833, cited in Demosthenopoulou, Elpiniki. *Öffentliche Bauten unter König Otto in Athen*, Ph.D. diss. University of Munich, 1970:12. Depictions of life in early Washington reveal many of the shortcomings resulting from establishment of a capital city by fiat amid what was essentially wilderness. What was conceived as a "city of magnificent distances" or "the Emporium of the West" was referred to by many congressmen as "wilderness city", "Capital of Miserable Huts". L'Enfant's 1791 plan for Washington was based on two elements: first his ideas for a capital city based on a republic ultimately having 50 states and 500,000,000 citizens and second the influence by Baroque landscape architecture which was at its zenith in the late decades of the 18th century. His original designs for

affect the actual implementation of the plan. He foresaw however, the main preoccupations with regard to urban planning in Athens still evident today.

During the nineteenth century, other established urban centres were in the process of drafting urban regulations for internal organisation. In a similar fashion to Athens, Rome appointed a commission to draw a *piano regolatore* that would regularise future constructions and building styles.¹¹³ Bastea also mentions the case of Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire and how it was methodically restructured according to established European principles that reflected the efforts of the political administration to transform itself according to the western models.¹¹⁴ Similarly in many other Balkan states when they wanted to proclaim their independence they chose urban planning and architecture as the manifestation of their national identities.

Both Rome and Athens were and still are cities based on their antiquities as evidence of their classical legacies. Kleanthis and Schaubert were both in favour of preservation instead of intervention and that attitude still characterises Greek archaeology. This is why I believe Schinkel's proposal for the royal palace on the Acropolis hill was rightfully rejected by the government as it did not fit the conservation plans that the government hoped to apply.¹¹⁵ (Pl. 30 & 31)

Washington reflect the grandeur both of his projections and of the Baroque. Perhaps the most prominent element in his design is the complex revolving about the Capitol, the Mall and the executive mansion, which came to be known as the White House. Both buildings were placed to form the background, or terminating vista, of long straight pathways or malls. Radiating from the buildings were two series of broad avenues converging in to circular intersections, the effect of which was to create "a reciprocity of view", a means of terminating long vistas that would give direction and character to the city and would create throughout it a series of sub-centres within view of one another, very much like Modern Athens. Most of these squares were located on natural rises in the terrain like the Capitol and the White House. The Mall, which extends from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial was intended to be one broad, tree-lined avenue: later development has changed this plan. The pattern of radiating avenues was to be joined and filled by the gridiron matrix of streets. With the Capitol as the axis, the streets were lettered to the north and the south numbered to the east and the west, and the avenues were named for the streets. L' Enfant's plan ended to the north at what became Florida Avenue, where a steep bluff was to provide the traveler with the impressive expanse of the city spread out at his/ her feet. Despite the similarity of the vistas from the public buildings there is no documented evidence that the Washington plan might have influenced the architects for the plans of Modern Athens.

¹¹³ Kostof, Spiro. *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory*, Berkley: University Art Museum, 1973:43.

¹¹⁴ Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 2000. For detailed information on Istanbul's efforts to westernization see the excellent analysis of Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.

¹¹⁵ Schinkel's plans for Otto's palace can be studied in the wider framework of imperial palace designs. Precedent to Schinkel's design are the grandiose projects carried out under Napoleon I in France and Italy. In

The stylistic similarities between the designs for Napoleon I and the designs for Otto in Greece reflect the ideological similarities of the great powers of Europe. Not only architecture but the iconography used by both Napoleon and Otto confirm the rhetoric of their identification with the classical past, especially in a time when classical art and architecture was considered the pinnacle of human creation. Napoleon made direct references to the Roman Empire borrowing its iconography for paintings of his image, and, in a wider sense, the whole of the French Empire clothed itself in the myth of Roman continuation and inheritance. At the other end of the spectrum, Otto, representing the German powers, identified himself with classical Greece. Schinkel's proposal for the palace was intended to showcase not only Otto's great political power but more importantly his father's Ludwig's I political and cultural vision. Ludwig was representing the German state and his main aim was to recreate the glory of classical Athens. Germany's involvement in the independence of Modern Greece was not so much for economic reasons, as for the unique opportunity to openly declare herself responsible for the return of Athens to her former classical glory. Athens provided the means for Ludwig's passage into eternity.

As we have seen throughout this thesis, Athens' qualities as the capital of Modern Greece changed gradually with the introduction of new urban planning and public architecture. The urban historian, Braunfels, offers three main characteristics of capital cities: "(1) the masses as a political power and a political problem, (2) the special situation of such a city regarding its population, economic power and intellectual production and (3) its contrast to the province or the provinces".¹¹⁶ Athens indeed acquired all these characteristics and architecturally differentiated itself from the rest of Greece. Kleanthis and Schaubert, continued by Klenze, provided Athens with a theatre, stock market, library, university, gardens, parliament, court rooms, etc. all the symbols of a democratic city that represent the

France the proposal for an imperial palace in Paris, designed by Fontaine on the heights of Chaillot (1812) and a similar proposal for a palace on the Campidoglio by Scipione Perosini (1811) were both plans characterized by the same grandiose vision as in Schinkel's plan. For further information on the subject see Lavedan, *Historie de l'urbanisme: Époque Contemporaine*: 28, 47. Pinon, Pierre, Le grandi opera appartengono ai grandi sovrani: Un palazzo imperial sul Campidoglio? and Il Giardino del Campidoglio. Un primo progetto d'integrazione del Foro. In Ministry of Culture, *Forma: La Città antica e il sue avvenire*, Rome: De Luca, 1985: 28-32. Both projects were considered too extravagant by their contemporaries and thus were never carried out. Perosini's plan was further criticized for the destruction of antiquities its implementation would have entailed.

nation. Kleanthis' and Schaubert's plan, I believe, although it had as its focus Otto's palace, addressed the people of Athens, as all of the public buildings were treated undifferentiated. Despite the criticisms of the press for the pretentious and excessive buildings instead of those truly needed by the Greeks, such as a hospital, a school and a church, the architects designed public buildings as decorations of the urban fabric. Athens' urban design and architecture was to manifest "ideal" Athens instead of the built expression of the local needs and patterns of life.

VI. The Exclusion of Ottoman Athens

The extent to which local needs were ignored is evident through the destruction of Ottoman Athens and the emphasis on the Greek classical past. In order to construct a homogenous urban fabric as a continuation from the ancient one, the Ottoman parts of Athens were destroyed altogether. For example, the area inside the late-Roman walls, called *mesochorio* or *kato poli* (Pls. 32 & 33) was the location of many residences during the Ottoman years. The proposed plans of Kleanthis, Schaubert and Klenze did not make any reference to these pre-existing parts of the city. Although most of these residences were destroyed leading up to the revolution and especially after the influx of immigrants, the new administration presented a homogenous urban environment with well-preserved classical antiquities. Eventually, with the economic development of the country, new social structures emerged which blurred the homogenous environment. This, however, happened outside the historical limits of this thesis, towards the 1930s.¹¹⁷

In addition, during Ottoman times, the market areas were the main foci of the city. Especially since Athens was primarily an agricultural city, most of religious and administrative buildings were concentrated in the market area.¹¹⁸ Most cafes and recreation places, like Turkish baths (hamams) were also located in the market area. In the new plans

¹¹⁶ Braunfels, *Urban design in Western Europe*: 179.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of the different parts of the city and social differentiation see Skaltsa, Matoula. *Koinoniki Zoh kai dhmosioi choroi koinonikon synanthseon sthn Athena tou 19ou aiona (Social Life and Public Spaces of Social Gatherings in 19th century Athens)*, 2nd ed. Thessaloniki, 1983

¹¹⁸ This type of planning, with the market as the hub of the city can be still found in Turkey and in most Arab towns of the Middle East and North Africa.

for Athens the city still lacked an appropriate produce market. Now the market, to the southwest of the city, did not form an integral part of the design. In contrast to Ottoman times, the city's new focuses were the administrative, cultural and educational centres. This opening up of the city necessitated new boulevards that would connect each place with the other.

Change was inevitable in nineteenth century Athens. However if Ottoman Athens had been included in the new plans, the image of the city would have been very different. The present analysis aims at explaining points of discontinuity. It does however add to the debate about the different perception of *Greekness* of the Greeks themselves and of Europe. The root of this different perception lies in the criticism of the image of Athens: in the eyes of many foreigners Athens had a central position in the nation's politics and economics. In the eyes of the Greeks though, Athens was the sumptuous showcase of the Germanic powers, lacking a consideration for the true needs of its people. Athens remained "a place in between": classical Athens, Byzantium and the Ottoman past were all architectural elements of the Greek identity that the European powers chose to exclude.

VII. After the Grand Designs: Public Opinion and the Press

The aim of this section is to examine how the plans for Athens were described in the press during the years after the Greek Revolution. My data comes primarily from the magazine *Athena*, a liberal magazine that supported primarily the English party, and from data found in the Greek State Archives. Most of the newspapers reflected the opinions of political parties, often opposing the decisions of the government. Consequently the press was often restricted by the authorities. One important note to remember though is that the limited data found in the Greek archives does not represent the voice of the majority of the people since the criticisms in the press were mostly politically driven. *Athena*, which in Greek signifies the ancient goddess Athena, goddess of wisdom and war for the city of Athens, was edited by E. Antoniadis and is one of the most important documentary sources for historical analysis since it had an almost uninterrupted publication schedule (twice weekly). As

mentioned before though, *Athena*, albeit an invaluable source, was privately owned and politically driven.¹¹⁹

Although my data is limited to some recorded opinions in the press I believe they provide a base for further speculation. We cannot document, however, discussions in the streets, houses and other public places; nor can we distinguish between the opinions of wealthy individuals and those of the poor. Keeping in mind that the spectrum presented here is wide, we can still compare the opinions of Athenians with the architects' idealising perceptions of the city. Since there is no information that has survived on the historical record of the opinions of everyday Athenians showing how they dealt with the developing urban fabric, I assume that opinions differed depending on education and social standing both inland and abroad, upon background and external influences. I attempt to describe not only the "official" line of thought but also the response of the people to these projects. By looking at the public's response, I hope to complete the puzzle of the making of a city. Although the architects involved in the plan for Athens had some ideological disagreement nevertheless similar training and theoretical principles led to similar priorities with regard to the plan.

By examining public opinion I aim to expose the gap between the perception of Greekness and national identity, and between the architects' opinions and the public's perception of the finished product. While the architects and administration repeatedly made references to the Greeks' glorious past and inheritance, the residents and journalists insisted on better quality of living for the **present**. Of course urban planning involves the inherent problem of including the past in the present. In recent years, there seems to be a trend towards a critical appreciation of art taking into account the complexities and problems of everyday life. Since then daily complexities were a public act and public service par excellence. Urban planning represents a struggle between social classes, artistic principles, political ideologies and economic realities.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ For information on parties in Modern Greece see Economopoulou, Marietta. *Parties and Politics in Greece 1844-1855*, Ph.D. diss. University of Oxford 1982: 32-33, 36, 39, 42. Also Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft*: 576-579.

¹²⁰ Among the earliest and most innovative publications on the interpretation of urban history is Hadjinikolaou, Nikos. *Histoire de l'art et lutte des classes*, Paris: F. Mapero, 1973, trans. Asmal, Louise. *Art History and Class Struggle*, London: Pluto Press, 1978.

In 1834, after Klenze's plan was approved, *Athena* published an article describing the complexities of the urban plan for Athens. *Athena* continued by identifying the difficulties of designing a new plan as the architect would have to compromise between the political aspirations of the administration and the real needs of the Greek people. The plan, the article continued, would have to tackle the needs of the Greeks coming from abroad (heterochthon) and those already living in Athens (autochthon).¹²¹ I believe the article is insightful as it describes the political and social situation in Athens and, by asking the architects and administration to "compromise", it summarises the reality of any urban plan: that it reflects the struggle between the various ideologies, political interests and social needs.

Another important point that *Athena* mentions in another article is that, although the Greeks were very proud of their classical inheritance, they were very concerned about their present situation. Without denying the value of classical heritage, both private individuals and the press placed priority on social well-being. We read in *Athena*, dated 21 Nov. 1834:

"The future excavation for which Greece, because of its poverty will not be able to undertake for a century, prevents many from building on their ruins, where the stone is available, and which the poorest people do not have the means to transport: here there is a general opinion that the government could allow the building of houses within the excavation line, at least for 20 years, upon the agreement that if, after that time, the government wants to excavate, the owner will tear his house down on his own expense".¹²²

The above proposition was later proven inapplicable through experience. Again when the Ministry of Interior decided to prevent the stone-quarrying activities of Kleanthis on a nearby hill because it should be preserved as "a monument of antiquity" the press responded sarcastically:

"Let us admit that one ought to be suffering from great archaeological mania not to be satisfied with so many monuments, works of human

¹²¹ *Athena* 3, no. 171 dated 18 August 1834.

¹²² *Athena* 3, no. 198, dated 21 November 1834.

hands after the Flood, but to consider even a rock as a valuable heirloom, which undoubtedly existed in the world before the creation of Noah's ark".¹²³

The cynical attitude of the press however, as mentioned, did not reflect the ignorance of the Greek people of their ancient culture. In fact, by the 1840s, the press started a more protective attitude towards the antiquities. The Acropolis was now under conservation and most of the surrounding classical antiquities were slowly incorporated into the new cityscape and the everyday lives of the people. Once the plans were published, people's focus of attention now became the new street openings, the boulevards, the division of the city into economic and cultural centres and public administration. In one of the issues, dated 24 February 1845, we read that the administration was criticised for not protecting the area around the Gate of Agora.¹²⁴ Three main reasons I believe contributed to this change of attitude. First of all, throughout the 400 years of Turkish occupation, the Greek monks kept the ties with the past alive, through the teaching of ancient Greek literature in secret schools. As mentioned before the Greeks saw their classical inheritance as part of their national identity. The main difference between them and Europe was that, because of Europe's mania for the classical past, only ancient Greece constituted Modern Greek national identity. Secondly, in post-liberated Greece, when the political rhetoric for the historical connection of modern Greece with classical Greece became the main line of the state, it became apparent that the classical antiquities would advocate for the political independence of modern Greece and the well-being of the state. We need to remember at this point that Greece was becoming a new European neighbour and leader of the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, it had to display its adherence to classicism and the classical tradition. Thirdly, around the middle of the nineteenth century there was a concern for the opinions of foreigners. Since most of the rebuilding of Athens had taken place, Athenians started to view their city as attraction for visitors, tourism and business.¹²⁵ The educated Athenians saw their city as a European capital and in *Athena* we find their preoccupations: "What do the foreigners say who are continuously visiting the Acropolis?"¹²⁶

¹²³ *O Sotir* (The Savior) 2, no.63, dated 12/20 December 1830.

¹²⁴ *Athena* 14, no. 1196, dated 24 February 1845.

¹²⁵ *Athena* 26, no. 2590, dated 24 August 1857.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 1857

This does not mean to say however that there were not those who opposed the government's plan to forbid building on ancient sites. A letter by five residents, dated the 4th of June 1862, protests against the government's plans as they used to own land in the archaeological area and were prohibited for building because of future excavations. The owners claimed that it was the government's "sacred duty" either to allow building or to arrange financial compensation.¹²⁷

Hence, we slowly see the beginnings of a new nation, not only in its national architecture and urban plan but most importantly in the debates and concerns of the citizens expressed through the press. A very important source of information comes again from *Athena* which highlights the concerns of the Athenian citizens:

"The plan of Mr. Kleanthis was criticised of being impossible to execute, that it allowed for the public buildings so much space as is not taken up by the buildings in London, or Paris, that the lots that are destined for excavations demand extremely high compensations which the Treasury cannot possibly cover, for the plan presupposed Greece to be right and strong, as it cannot become in 400 years.. We fear that ..we will end up without a roof, die from starvation, with our eyes lingering towards the coming generations".¹²⁸

As Athens was in the making its citizens were often faced with the megalomania of the administration and its disregard of social interests. Humour and sarcasm were often deployed to humiliate the government's decisions:

"The plan for Athens suffered what the painting of Apelles suffered, painted according to the opinion of many, or the oven of Satardjim Hodja. First Kleanthis and Schaubert were ordered to make the plan which resembled rather the plan of a garden, than of a city.. in designing the streets, they did not overlook any geometric shape:...they drew several triangles, squares, hexagons, polygons, trapezoids, etc....so that the professor of Mathematics,

¹²⁷ GAK Ministry of Interior, *City Plan*, f. 12, Athens, dated 4th June 1862.

¹²⁸ *Athena* 3, no. 171, dated 18 August 1834.

Mr. Negres, when he teaches geometry, does not have any need of geometric shapes, having in mind the plan of our city".¹²⁹

This humorous statement is not uninformative in terms of the process of urban design. What the article is hinting of is Kleanthis' and Schaubert's process of design based on geometrical types. Comparing therefore the previous plans for other Greek cities in the Kapodistrian period, I would like to suggest that Kleanthis' and Schaubert's plans were based on a prototypical orthogonal plan, similar to the ones they were assigned to design in other parts of Greece, as we have seen. It is at this point that *Athena*, in a later article differentiates between Kleanthis and Klenze, the Greek born architect being the talented but mistreated boy and Klenze, the villain who won the competition only because of his connections to the King. In the bias of nationalistic journalism, the involvement of Schaubert with the first plan is sporadically mentioned:

"We also learnt that, despite all the pains he [Kleanthis] took for the plan,.. as an architect for almost three years, he received no money, while Mr. Klenze, for one simple transfer of the Royal Palace in his plan, which already the King has discarded.. received, as it has been said, 24.000 drachmas:.. Mr. Kleanthis has been treated unfairly.. Mr. Kleanthis was not unfair to anybody.. did not receive any money".¹³⁰

In the State Archives there is no further information about Kleanthis' and Schaubert's payment. Some historians believe that indeed he had not received any money for his designs¹³¹ while others suggest that in fact he had been paid from the outset of his

¹²⁹ *Athena* 8, no 5999, dated 11 March 1839. "Satardjim Hodja is an Eastern folk hero, whose stories are still mentioned in Greece. Hodja built an oven and asked a passer-by his opinion. The passer-by thought that the door should be located on the opposite side. Hodja tore his oven down and rebuilt it following the person's advice. He then asked someone else, who naturally, had a different opinion about the location of the door. Finally Hodja in his despair built his oven on wheels so that the door could face any one direction passer-buyers would suggest to him.

¹³⁰ *Athena* 4, no. 275, dated 21 September 1835. This letter is a response to an article that had appeared in *Athena* 4, no. 196 against Kleanthis and his plan. The article was signed by M. Mantos. The magazine *Sotir* (Saviour) also mentions Kleanthis' involvement in the revolution under General Ypsilantis. *O Sotir* (The Saviour), 2, no. 60 dated 28 November/ 10 December 1835. Thus we see an emerging image of Kleanthis very much as a national hero. My emphasis.

¹³¹ Mpiris, K. *Ta Protá Sxedia ton Athinon* (The First Designs for Athens), Athens, 1933: 16-17.

involvement with the plans for Athens and thus all the designs belonged de facto to the State.¹³²

The criticism of Klenze was based on the fact that he had spent only a short time in Athens, proposed a plan for a palace that was not realised and “..made all of the city’s streets crooked, and [did] not cease drawing crooked lines even from Munich”.¹³³ Of course as I mentioned before in my analysis of the plans, Klenze had not proposed any crooked streets. He did, however, reduce the width of streets and major boulevards as the state was unable to face the financial costs and meet the landowners’ demands. He left most of the old city untouched and in this way he minimized compensation demands. What is evident though through this critique is a sense of “a city” that the Greeks start to form. This is evident even at the point where they start criticizing the geometry of the city, as if they know or have a specific idea of what a European capital should look like. My hypothesis is that this is the breaking point where we can date approximately the return of many heterochthon Greeks [immigrant Greeks]. Upon their return they must have brought with them experience and knowledge of the European cityscape along with information of current debates about the style and nature of a European city.¹³⁴ Of course since we are not aware of the background of every journalist writing in *Athena*, we cannot identify with certainty which voice belongs to the immigrants and which belongs to the locals.

My belief that there was the notion of an “ideal city” is further supported by the fact that the press also urged the authorities to level and clean up streets, plant trees and open squares and place fountains.¹³⁵ The upkeep of streets and public safety is another dimension of an ideal city. The Greeks showed a preoccupation with their urban environment and, for example, in an unprecedented document in 1845 and 1846 they were able to distinguish between the need for upkeep and civilian comfort. As *Athena* states, extensive measures were taken by the state

¹³² Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens*. In the *Ministry of Interior, GAK*, I have found a letter dated 16/20 June 1836, entitled “On the demands of Mr. Kleanthis and Schaubert for the design of the plans of Athens” but there is no conclusion as to the financial agreement reached by both parties.

¹³³ *Athena* 6, no. 467, dated 1 September 1837, part II of an editorial.

¹³⁴ Remember that by 1830s many immigrant Greeks who lived in Berlin, Munich and Paris returned to Greece and brought with them the cultural debates of these major European capitals faced with the difficulty of classicism in the advent of modernism.

¹³⁵ *Athena* 4, no. 286, dated 30 October 1835. Also *Sotir* 2, no. 38, dated 25 August 1835. On the planting of trees see, *Athena* 7, no. 581 dated 31 December 1838 and *Athena* 26, no. 2537 dated 14 March 1857.

to successfully confront the water shortage.¹³⁶ Bastea mentions that similar complaints had been expressed two centuries earlier in Versailles regarding the watering of the gardens under Louis XIV at the public's expense.¹³⁷

With the need for the city's beautification came the concern for the impressions of the visitors. Once more, other European cities become the prototypes to which Athens compares itself:

"The civilised Europeans surround all of their cities with such wide streets, heavily planted with tree-lines, which not only decorate the streets and render them pleasant and comfortable, but also serve for the people's promenades, clean the air and bring health and a feeling of well-being to them."¹³⁸

If the city of Athens.. beautified the entrance to the city, the Theiseion, the Hill of the Nymphs and the foot of the mountains with tree planting and gardens..[the] visitor instead of the smell of excrement and toilets, would sense the smell of flowers and trees".¹³⁹

Athenians not only compare themselves with other European cities but more importantly **define** a civilised nation. They speak of "civilised Europeans" living in cities with wide streets and boulevards which are not only pleasant but also **comfortable**. This statement, I believe, is the beginning of the interpretation of urban history in Athens. The citizens of Athens defined a civilised nation according to its urban plan and the success of this plan to make their city pleasant and comfortable. Public opinion was not only preoccupied with cityscape but with the beautification of the city, as it starts to see Athens also as a tourist destination. With the Greeks returning from abroad, locals are becoming aware of the Europeans' opinion about them. What they are trying to do therefore, is to engage in similar debates about the character of the city of Athens and the extent to which it reflects their national identity. Had material survived in the state archives, it would have been interesting

¹³⁶ *Athena* 15, no. 1333, dated 21 July 1846 and *Athena* vol. 4, no. 1334, dated 25 July 1846.

¹³⁷ Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens*.

¹³⁸ *Athena* 25, no 2507 dated 21 December 1856. My emphasis.

¹³⁹ *Athena* 25, no. 2378, dated 23 February 1856.

to see how far uneducated Greeks believed Athens to be a representation of their national identity. By the end of the nineteenth century the ideal image of New Athens has been refined in the minds of most Athenians, or at least of those supporting *Athena*:

“Let us imagine Hermou Street ordered and levelled.. planted with trees and decorated.. Let us also imagine the two other streets parallel to Hermou St. one on its north and one on its south side, starting in a straight line from the two sides of the Palace Square and ending in the western end of the city. Then these three streets would make upon a visitor an impression of a regular, European city, while now ‘judging by its entrance’ [Athens], [one] cannot but consider it a barbarian little town, inhabited by.. simple workers”.¹⁴⁰

From the above critique we see again a comparison between Athens and other European cities but also a perception of the Greeks of themselves as “simple workers living in a barbarian little town”. The demeaning tone of this article reflects the need of the Modern Greeks to be accepted in the European community as a modern nation worthy of its classical inheritance. Perhaps the mental image of a city that Athenians wanted to escape was that of a Turkish town. The severe criticism in *Athena* for the future of Athens supports my previous point: “There is no excuse for making even this city under construction completely Turkish, having no relation to the way that 19th century cities are built”.¹⁴¹ What was inherently Turkish for the Athenians were narrow streets, limited open space and lack of order and hygiene. These elements characterised not only a secular state but also one that is not democratic. As much as the Greeks believed in shared cultural elements with the Turkish, they wanted to differentiate themselves from the Ottoman cityscape as a metaphorical denial of the Ottoman occupation. The fact that the above criticism refers to Klenze’s plan and the narrowing of streets is also indicative of the Greeks’ attitude towards foreign intervention.

All the preoccupations the Greeks had were included in the explanatory insert of the plan by Kleanthis and Schaubert. However due to the state’s poor financial situation, the actual plans were altered dramatically. The original triangle of commercial, educational and

¹⁴⁰ *Athena* 27, no. 2677 dated 2 July 1858. My emphasis.

¹⁴¹ *Athena* 8, no. 599 dated 11 March 1839 and *Athena* 7, no. 581 dated 31 December 1838.

cultural side is still evident today. The monumental character of the series of parks and public places has been completely lost in contemporary Athens. (Pl. 34)

Although the critiques in the press are indicative of the social climate they were not instrumental in changing the city's image. Even though at many instances planning legislation was in opposition to social needs, it was supported by the administration. The opinions discussed above represent mainly the upper class stratum of the Athenian society I believe, as a comparison between *Athena* and *O Sotir*, *Athena* seems to represent more a right wing ideology compared to the left wing one of *O Sotir*. Clearly since both strata of the society had to contribute financially to the rebuilding of Athens, the right wing opinions of *Athena* cannot be regarded as representative of all Athenian citizens.

The plans for Athens were not perceived as a unified whole by the Greek people as housing and the practical needs of hospitals and schools were far more important to the mainstream Athenian than Otto's palace, which led as we saw to the 1840s revolution and exile of the Bavarian court. The residents of Athens, although they still envisioned a tree-lined, hygienic and comfortable capital, were not willing to sacrifice their practical needs. Their criticisms reflect the limitations of city planning but most importantly sketch the components of Modern Greek national identity: ancient Greek cultural inheritance, Christian Orthodox beliefs and European standard of living.

CHAPTER FOUR

IV. THE CREATION OF MODERN ATHENS

In this Chapter I examine the creation of Modern Greek identity by a non-historical method. My aim is to show that although architecture was the stage for the development of New Athens, yet it was memory and nostalgia that created and supported the special relationship with space, holding by the essence of this relationship only the best aspects of Greek history.

As we have previously seen, the 1834 revision of the city plan by Klenze brought the concept of the “southern city” where strict planning and grid patterns were not necessary.¹ The co-existence of the old and the new presented the city of Athens as a living organism where in the old quarters of the city there was the old pattern of narrow passages and small squares and in the new part of the city there were circular public squares bigger in size. The palace was now the centre of the new city as a symbolic metaphor of the king’s political authority and large parks and radial streets along with public buildings were part of the new urban fabric. Public building along with the

¹ A detailed analysis of the plans by Kleanthis and Klenze were given in the Urbanism Chapter where the idea of the “southern city” was explored. Klenze in particular followed the strict geometry of the Bavarians and Prussians that abided by the classical urban design. Klenze’s plan for Athens develops more on open land rather than on previously private owned land as an attempt to prevent public dissatisfaction. His plan allowed only two main accesses to the city from the east and the west. Both entrances were from Piraeus and Feidiou Street, controlling therefore the amount of traffic that entered the city. The new design was developed on the south side of the classical city, keeping in line with the “classical” cityscape design. Klenze remained deeply influenced by the confrontation of classical Greek and contemporary architecture. While contemporary architecture was dominated by a system of axes and symmetry, ancient Greek architecture emphasised plasticity and organic development. The relationship of the buildings was not dictated by a system of absolute geometry but rather by a more organic approach of the experience of buildings in the landscape and their settings. Klenze wanted to show through his designs the true ideals of Greek architecture about freedom of planning and *the design of a city for its citizens*. By that Klenze described a dynamic and progressive relationship between the city and its residents.

exploitation of the sense of nostalgia for the past, were used for the creation of the Modern Greek state and created a false sense of Greek continuity from the past. The Christian-Turkish past of the Greeks who lived in Asia Minor was concealed and only references to the classical Greek heritage were made. This prejudice was so strong that modern cultural studies show that the Greeks that came from Asia Minor in the exchange of populations in 1922 were considered by Europeans as Turkish in origin.²

Modern Greece, after the age of Enlightenment, could be said to be an embodiment of the practical transformation of Eastern Europe by the dynamics of modernity which drove social, political and economic change. Modernity's dislocations can be seen in the antagonisms noted by early romantics: antagonisms of nature and culture, life and intellect. In the light of such discontinuities with the past, the new relationship with antiquity, the obsession with ancient Greek antiquity, especially in nineteenth century Bavaria and Prussia is ironic. Bavaria, in the early nineteenth century was gripped with *Griechenenthusiasmus*³, or what Paulsen called the obsession with Hellenism. Classical antiquity was evaluated in response to national priorities: "no formula can sum up, no summary can do justice to the perpetual revolution that was the nineteenth century's contact with the Greeks".⁴ Here we can suggest that the Greek past had a twofold influence on Western Europe. In the case of post-Napoleonic Germany, it became a national priority to study Greek history in order to intensify the emerging German national consciousness and reconcile it to the changes necessitated by modernity. On the other hand, Modern uncivilised Greece was the blank canvas upon which they could apply the theories of ancient Greek culture and the principles of classical architecture, suitably adapted, which would serve contemporary social and political needs. The preference for and immersion in Greek culture was the element that aided national integration while distinguishing Germany from French culture, which was seen as being

² Further references on this matter can be found in The Centre for Neo-Hellenic Studies in Greece or in the modern film industry where many contemporary Greek films present the Greeks from Asia Minor as having a different culture altogether strongly influenced by the Middle East.

³ Paulsen, F. *Griechenenthusiasmus*, cited in Held, Dirk, *Hellenism, Nationalism and the ideology of research*, Paper, Connecticut College, 2000, New London

⁴ Grafton, A. *Germany and the West 1830-1900*, in Dover, K.J. (eds). *Perceptions of Ancient Greeks*, London, Blackwell, 1992: 243

rooted in the Roman tradition. The German tradition of the realisation of the Greek ideal and its symbolic attributes was introduced to modern Greeks as the type of existence for themselves. Starting from the idealised plan for the creation of the new city, the same idea of human perfection was integrated into a harmonious whole. This would produce a new society for Greece, the very core of the “Bildung” of the whole nation.

“Bildung” in Modern Greece was the vehicle for the forging of the national Greek identity. Many Greeks perceived the process of neoclassical building in Athens as inappropriate as it did not confront basic problems of lack of water and poor housing. From a political standpoint however, neoclassical building in Athens was appropriated, as the assigned architects provided those distinct characteristics, which enabled the Greeks themselves, and other Europeans to recognise the Hellenikotita- the Greekness of the new city. This happened not only through the inanimate structures of the past and the present but also by reference to the living tradition. At this point we may note that the ingenuity of the reconstruction process, was the bringing together of Greek intellectuals from abroad, the production of Hellenic art and literature along with the symbolic creation of *national architecture*. This mixture provided the common racial base that constituted the Greek nationality that every Greek around the world could recognise.

The Greeks living in Athens understood these processes as representations of a united group of common race, religion and language. In this thesis I see this perception from a Hellenocentric point of view in which the Greeks themselves, set apart from the rationale of their European counterparts, viewed new Athens as the centre of Modern Greek culture, the centre for a dialogue between the Hellenes abroad and the Hellenes of mainland Greece.

IV.1 Historical Consciousness and Identity

Arnold Gehlen⁵ defined historical consciousness as the ability to recognise the epochal quality of an event as it happens now: in other words, to see the event with the eyes of future generations. For Gehlen, the essence of historical consciousness can be found not merely in remembering and transmitting the past, but in the way we see the present. Thus historical consciousness as the exclusive preoccupation with what happened in the past and has become history, uses this knowledge, as an element in shaping the thoughts and actions that will determine the future. Historical consciousness is not restricted to retrospective contemplation, but instead always draws conclusions from the past and applies them to goals lying in the future. This line of thinking forces us to see not merely accidental links but a crucial interdependence between political action and historical consciousness.

Political figures are not always aware of the totality of the past. History can affect us directly through events that influence later generations, representing real or imagined climaxes. Most importantly, we are also affected by our knowledge of the past, either through the process of artistic recreation or scientific method. The eighteenth century was full of artistic interventions that presented the future through the lenses of the past. Nineteenth century neoclassical architecture symbolised both the past and the political aspirations of the future with the approval of high expenditure for the creation and maintenance of buildings that would represent the contemporary image of the nation. Examples of this can be found in the Academy, the National Library and the University, which were all very expensive to build and maintain. Especially in the case of Athens, a basic state infrastructure was nonexistent. The approval of expensive buildings justified the *monumentalism* that would appeal to foreign investments. Architecture and planning were to represent the Modern state.

⁵ Gehlen, Arnold, *Man in the Age of Technology*, 1904, New York, Columbia University Press, Re-print in English, 1980

History comprises many layers of accumulated collective memory. This collective memory acts as a conscious or unconscious influence on the decision of individuals as well as on the collective actions of the great social forces of history. Just how individual and social decision-making interact is a problem that is still under debate. However, we can say that basic historic experiences clearly affect the mentality of groups. Such experiences can give rise to conflicting attitudes or lead to lasting antagonisms within a nation. Historical experiences may vividly represent national consciousness, or may be gradually forgotten or repressed as in the case of Greece.

It is true that historical consciousness- or the historical unconscious- is determined by events in the past. Historical consciousness deals with past events that have been accepted and therefore have become parts of personal or collective identity whereas the historical unconscious deals with past events that have not been accepted as past experiences and therefore are forgotten or repressed. However, historical knowledge or knowledge of the past, which has been preserved through time, is usually refined by social means and political regimes and thus shapes historical consciousness in another way. Modern scientific thought has revealed the sphere of the unconscious and has taught us to take into account what we call collective memory. But the rationalism of scientific method also urges us to extract historical events from their anonymity and complexity, to see them as products of comprehensible actions and causal connections, to dispel legends and myths. History may be said to increase our knowledge of the past but in doing so it reduces the unknown power of the past. It is the task of history to free ourselves from prejudices or distortions about the past and reveal to us clearly its great false and true values. This was the case in nineteenth century Athens, when the politicians distorted part of its history by excluding anything Ottoman and demolishing any mosques or buildings that would remind the Greeks of their immediate past. The truth was grounded in the fruitful combination of the past and the present and thus the acceptance of eastern prototypes and symbols that have influenced the neo-Greek culture. Evidence of this can be found in the neo-Greek language which includes words of Turkish origin, probably brought to mainland Greece by the Greeks who lived in Asia Minor after the exchange of

populations in 1922. The Greeks of the nineteenth century had accepted their 400 years of subjugation and had created a new language and culture influenced by the East, along with the cultural and artistic origins of ancient Greece. This is further supported by the artistic productions of the time, in the influence of Christianity and the classical past and in the historical depictions of that time. In addition, there was a very active Greek population living in Asia Minor before the Turkish occupation that had a very strong sense of their Greek identity, which comprised of local influences from their immediate environment and the classical past. In direct opposition to what Hellenikotita was, the European Powers while constructing a Greek identity, obliterated any trace of their immediate past and enhanced their ancient roots, which to many uneducated Greeks were still unknown.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, history was a pleasurable occupation for antiquarians. It was in the eighteenth century that the careful study of historical texts started, giving use to the grand tour and the artistic depictions of archaeological finds. Friedrich Nietzsche suggests that the antiquarian interest is a major element in the pursuit of history. But is this alone enough to fire up or influence political action: history brings about different views of freedom, social stability and cultural heritage. Hegel gives a quite pessimistic view of history: "Experience and history, however, show that nations and governments have never learned anything from history and that their actions have never heeded the lessons history might have offered".⁶ History often has been used to promote unpredictable and capricious memories preserving what is valuable for the satisfaction of political advantages. On the argument against history, Friedrich Nietzsche, in his book *Thoughts Out of Season*, emphasises the life destroying effects that an excess of historical consciousness had at a time when it dominated both the educational system and public opinion. While arguing that it is the power to bring the past into the present and

⁶ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 1770-1831, *Aesthetics, Lectures on Fine Art*, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1975:4. Hegel in his book *Völesungerüber die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte*, vol. I. suggests that every nation exists in such individual condition that it must and will make decisions on the basis of its own being and only someone of great character will decide correctly. Nations live in such individual conditions that earlier conditions do not completely fit later ones because conditions have changed totally ("Besondere Einleitung: die verschiedenen. Arten der Geschichtsbetrachtung"), cited in *Einleitung: Die Vernunft in der Geschichte*, ed. Lasson, G.: fifth ed., ed. Hoffmeister, J. Hamburg, 1955

interpreting how past events shaped or altered current situations, Nietzsche also argues that an excess of history can destroy humanity: “At a certain level of sleeplessness, rumination, and historical consciousness, the vital impulse in an individual, in a nation, or in a culture will suffer and finally die”.⁷

Historians, in the golden age of historicism of the nineteenth century, dominated the educational system of Greece and laid the ground-work for its architectural and urban development. Historians along with architects and politicians projected the parts of history that they considered valuable. This created an unpredictable and capricious memory based on parts of history that in many cases were false or altered. For example, Greece’s heritage and history in Asia Minor was butchered in order to claim its ancient heritage. At the time when the whole of Europe was in a state of mind dedicated to finding its “true” ancestors and justifying its cultural superiority over indigenous cultures, Greece was the land of ancient superiority, the amalgam of western civilisation. Its people, therefore, could not have any connections with their Ottoman past or local traditions: “what is true may be forgotten. But it is the customary fate of new truths to begin as heresies and to end as superstitions”.⁸

At a time of historical experimentation, the German philosopher, Ernst Troeltsch, saw the problem of historicism as a problem of relativity of values. “History” he argues, “forces us to come to terms with the idea of a permanent and authoritative system of values that seems, however, to be undermined and finally destroyed by the stream of history itself”.⁹ Even though Troeltsch expressed this view in the mid-nineteen twenties he was grounded upon the political upheavals of the past and his own historical experiences.

⁷ Nietzsche Friedrich 1884-1990, *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, vol. 1-2. *Thoughts out of Season*, Edinburgh, London, Foulis Press, 1909, 2v.

⁸ Konrad Lorenz, *Behind the Mirror: a search for natural history of human knowledge*, New York, Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich 1978:5. (Original print Konrad Lorenz, *Die Rückseite des Spiegels: Versuch einer Naturgeschichte menschlichen Erkennens*, Munich 1973:315) Konrad quotes this sentence from Huxley, Thomas, *Scientific Memoirs: Natural History Selected from the transactions of foreign academies of science and from foreign journals*, London: Taylor and Francis, iv. 354p, xii, 1853.

⁹ Troeltsch, Ernst. *Der Historismus und seine Überwindung*, Berlin 1924, reprint 1966. For further information on this point see Troeltsch, E. *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, Book I, Tübingen, 1922.

Criticism in history, as a basis for political practice, draws upon the argument of the manipulation of history in order to accommodate political purposes. History represents an interpretation of facts: therefore we can manipulate history in any way we like in order to justify any political goals and aspirations to power. Evidence of this comes from many totalitarian regimes, where the appeal to history secures claims of social, political or economic superiority. In the case of nineteenth century Greece, Otto totally identified himself with history. Evidence of this comes from his speeches to the Greek people and from the first design of his palace on the Acropolis by Schinkel. Elaborate designs and details with clear historical references were put forward in an effort to associate Otto in the eyes of the people with Pericles and attribute the birth of New Athens to him.¹⁰

This use of history in national struggles was very common in nineteenth century Europe. Wherever it occurred it had the same effects: history was regarded as “national” a discipline, and was used as a weapon to defend personal interests. As a result, it is drawn into the arena of national and nationalistic passions. Historical consciousness can be altered, falsified in order to accommodate many different “truths”. Political and social transformations encourage appeals to history by way of ancient authorities. A nation’s political consciousness disparages thinking in terms of tradition. Politics and administration are directed to the idea of social planning. Then, the obvious question to ask would be, what use is historical consciousness in this situation? Who values it?

The nineteenth century saw a peak of historical scholarship and a greater sense of history for the public. In the political thinking of the time, historical arguments, symbols and traditions had great weight in the formation of national consciousness. The European powers, lacking the historical past of the Greeks, projected historical thought as a compensating function, making up for the lack of history by exaggerating a consciousness

¹⁰ Later examples of Hitler’s regime provide us with further evidence of the conscious manipulation and falsification of history to provide shaky rationales for the most debased political goals.

of it. "Only in contemplating the past can we find a scale by which we can measure the speed and force of the movement in which we are leaving ourselves".¹¹ This idea of history as a device for measuring time and motion in the present was a common process.

IV.2 Political Action and History

Political action rising from historical consciousness is not restricted to human action only: it is a process influenced by national, social, political and ideological groups. The memory of these groups can be either true or false. This is the case of nineteenth century Greeks, where the new generation of Greeks were unaware of their classical past. Only priests and older generations, through tradition and teaching of Greek, tried to keep the memory alive. Modern Greek identity was formed based on what seemed at the time appropriate *historical traditionalism*: the projection of the ancient classical past and the abolition of anything Eastern. The first politicians of Greece also saw the need to promote the nation's historical consciousness.

The Great Powers of the nineteenth century wanted to apply the same philosophical and social principles to a nation that had no immediate recollection of its past, while its present culture consisted of images of both the Orient and Europe. Nineteenth century Greece displayed a completely different attitude towards its own history to that of other European countries, creating therefore its own history. In the nineteenth century, the era of historiography, history had different roles in various countries. If we take, for example, France and Germany, the two leading countries in the architectural construction of Greece, we may see that history in France was part of literature and its close relation to politics. Many French historians notably, Guizot, Thiers and Hanotaux, also served as government ministers: "In their role as historians, they wrote as statesmen, in their role as statesmen, they acted as historians".¹²

¹¹ Troeltsch, Ernst. *Der Historismus und seine Überwindung*, Berlin 1924, reprint 1966. For further information on this point see Troeltsch, E. *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, Book I, Tübingen, 1922:8

¹² Schielder, T. *Historical Consciousness in Political Action*, University of Cologne, 1977: 9

In Germany, on the other hand, despite the influences of strong political impulses, historiography did not generally have an active role in political decision-making. Usually the influence of historians did not go beyond mere advice to princes and parliamentary. It did not have a direct effect in the political scene.

The discussion of historical consciousness can be considered on many different levels of understanding. Historical consciousness can be broken into a ladder of larger and smaller units. (Pl. 1) Societies comprise of a number of individuals, with their own personal identities that distinguish them from the social whole. All these personal identities build the social mass, which is distinguished and differentiated from other social masses by religion, economic status, political beliefs, language and traditions. The totality of different social groups forms a nation. National, ethnic identities are the principles by which a national group differentiates itself from another. National identities are often supported by national ideologies that reinforce and sustain the national agenda and interests. Historiography in turn observes these phenomena and actions. However it presents them from the view of the historian.

Neoclassical architecture became the dominant architecture for the whole of the nineteenth century in Greece. State architecture was the symbol of the new state, the symbol of Athens as a Modern European capital. While the monumental buildings around Europe shared the same architectural vocabulary, the symbolic meanings they conveyed were different and particular to each country. In the case of Greece symbolic meanings of local history and tradition were advanced in an effort to justify these buildings to the people and ensure their acceptance as national heritage. For instance, the building of the Academy in strictly neoclassical style projected the belief in the ideals of the past. Classical columns, decorative themes from classical Greek myths and statues from antiquity like the statues of Athena and Apollo in the Academy.

IV.3 Architecture as Ideology: Building the New Identity

The role of architects and builders is very important in the creation of identity and in particular in the Greek nation. The term “architecture” was examined within the limits set by Greek culture and the historical circumstances of the time. Greek architecture is inextricably connected with the notion of tradition. Tradition was and is the basis of Greek Nationality. Both tradition and Greek nationality are reflected in architecture. In 1830s Greece, neoclassical architecture acted as means of projecting national identity and tradition. This, therefore, gives rise to a series of questions about the meaning and use of “architecture” in the neo-emerging Greek state, some of which were answered in the previous chapters:

- Was there a trend towards specific architectural styles, i.e. pre-existing neoclassical architecture in the rest of Greece, and what was their function in the nation?
- How did the new building style of the period 1821-1862 (Otto’s rule) shape the identity of the Greeks: did the Greek people realise the existence and importance of their national identity and their distinctive architectural identity?
- Finally, what are the implications of the Greek monumental architecture of the period of 1821-1862? How do they shape the political, cultural and social life of the newly-born state?

In this part of the chapter we will focus on the issues raised by the term “architecture”, and on the emphatic demand of the Greek people and their politicians for symbols of national identity.

IV.4 Definition of the Issues Involved

In the years following the liberation from the Turks in 1821, the need for a Greek Identity was very intense. That is because the Greek spirit had been lost in 400 years of Turkish occupation. The Ottoman Empire had suppressed expressions of Greek culture: it did not allow the Greeks to speak their native language, or have any schools. Therefore,

after the liberation, the Greek people needed some form of “national identity”. This need for a national Greek identity formed the basis of the neo-Greek ideology.

By the term “identity”, we mean the encapsulation of all the specific and unique characteristics that differentiate a person or a thing from the rest.¹³ Hence when we speak of architectural identity, we refer to the specifics of the architecture of a particular time and place, and those elements that differentiate it and make it recognisable. The National Library, the Academy, the University and, more importantly, the Cathedral were specific architectural products that appropriated the distinctive Greek identity within its wider European context. This was achieved by integrating modern technology with local values of building: by being responsive to the local climate and the local materials, through the use of white marble from the Penteliko Mount and vivid colours for the decoration of friezes and capitals, like the Academy: and finally by using traditional vocabularies for the decoration and stylistic appropriation of the neoclassical monuments in order to create the sense of historical continuity.

The Greek architectural identity recreated and legitimised those principles and values that derived from the classical architectural heritage: ideology, nationhood, philosophy and ethics. Architectural identity was the thread between the theoretical and the practical. In particular, the Athenian Trilogy of neoclassical buildings, because of their location in the heart of the city and on Athens’s major avenue, provided a visual image of the nation. A visual image in terms of its physical criteria, motifs and aesthetic values, combined with social values of unity, permanence and progress. The neoclassical identity was about regulating change and creating a *new* historical continuity with the classical heritage. The notions of unity and permanence served as tools to distinguish one nation from the other thereby to differentiate Greece from its Ottoman past and project its new European architectural image.

¹³ further references can be found in Gamble, Clive. *Cultural identity and Archaeology: The construction of European Communities*. Routledge Publications, London, 1996

The notion of Greek identity can be schematically described based on the three notions of permanence, unity and relation. (Pl. 2) Identity comes from the Latin word *idem* which means “the same” and expresses the sameness of a thing with itself. However this supposition creates several philosophical problems *What makes two things the same kind of thing?* In order to avoid philosophical net perking, which does not have a place in this thesis, we shall give a brief account of the issues involved in the identity debate. According to the Encyclopaedia of Philosophy there are two distinct philosophical problems of Identity: one is the problem of identity as permanence which is captured by the question of “*what makes something the same thing as it was before?*” The second is the problem of identity as Unity which is captured by the question of “what makes those two things the same kind of thing?” The first question involves the philosophical problems of change and permanence which in turn evolved into other philosophical problems of substance and personal identity. The second question gave rise to the philosophical problems of universals and formal cause and led to problems of individuation. As it is not the aim of this thesis to explain the different problems of these philosophical debates we may take the position that identity is connected to continuity. Heraclitus of Ephesus gave some interesting remarks about the nature of continuity in identity.

Heraclitus expressed the contrary view using the story of the rivers: “Because all things flow, (and) nothing abides (..) you cannot step into the same river twice”.¹⁴ Therefore, according to Heraclitus, given such relentless change, what gives the river its identity, is a *balance of harmonia of opposites* that awards unity to the overall process of never-ending qualitative transformations. Heraclitus must have had in mind the concept of identity as continuity. In addition, if we take Aristotle’s view that only development is possible for change is the unfolding of possibilities or potentialities that were already latent inside the object to begin with, then continuity as an important factor of identity must be described as *dynamic continuity*. The term dynamic involves change within the process of acquiring an identity. Identity thus comes to mean “being identifiable” and is

¹⁴ Heraclitus of Ephesus, *Dicta, On the Identity of Rivers*, Fr. 41

linked to the idea of something becoming identifiable from moment to moment. Permanence in identity refers to the *everlasting state of being*. By that we mean that a person, community or nation will always have an identity despite the small transformations or identifiable elements of it. There is no cognition without recognition. Confidence in our place in the world cannot be achieved without our memories. Lack of memory destroys identity. All human affairs presuppose the individual's permanent and continuing identity over time. In collective identities the awareness of a shared past is indispensable, what Renan called "*avoir fait de grandes choses ensemble, et vouloir en faire encore*".¹⁵ Historical awareness is at the very root of collective identity as this *collective knowledge* denotes **unity** and **relation**. The permanence of states originally resided either in the continuity of a political system or authorship or in the mythical remembrance of primeval experiences often perceived as traditions. Tradition is part of identity as a collective memory of the persistent presence of the past in the form of collective memories like ceremonies and celebrations or material culture like buildings or monuments. Identity refers to the idea of community in the recollections and remains of the nation-at-large.¹⁶ For a community or nation common recollections of the past and cultural elements which they all recognise and identify with create the idea of a relation with each other. The notion of identity invokes a categorical fixity, unchangeable and permanent through time. However, when it comes to group identities internal divisions may occur which make group identity volatile. In developmental psychology the human mind has been seen as a continuous attempt to make familiar the a-priori of egocentrism and has recently elaborated the concept of "identity as a skin". This idea not only contains and closes off the individual's body but also forms a sensory interface between Self and Outside.¹⁷ Moreover the thought of Derrida has looked into the metaphysics of identity and has highlighted the idea of difference in identity. According to that idea the world

¹⁵ Renan Ernest, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* Paris, 1881

¹⁶ With the establishment of modern centralised states after the French Revolution, the idea of remembrance and national permanence became state policy. History in many cases replaced religion as a core subject in school education. Many commemorations were instituted and many names of streets and public spaces that recalled past events and persons were established as state symbols. This deliberate cultivation of history has been analysed in great detail in Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence.' book *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983

¹⁷ Anzieu, Didier. *Le moi-peau*, Paris 1985

consists of an unbounded and unlimited web of differentiations which it would be reductive to collapse into oppositional relations between constitutive identities.¹⁸ In this view identity should be not looked at a-priori but rather as something which is developed. This development often takes the form of material expression and especially art and architecture which is often used for status references. Identity is formed on the axis between the subject itself and changing experiences. In the case of nineteenth century Athens public architecture expressed the idea of diachronic identity, the sense of permanence and continuity in time.

In broad terms, architecture is a major expression of any civilisation as it creates the material setting upon which most human activities take place. In addition, it represents the timeless relation of humans with their environment. Past and current social theories and political movements largely influence architecture.¹⁹ Mary McLeod suggests, “(that) the naive utopianism of the modern movement, the social criticism of the sixties, the semiological analyses of the seventies, and contemporary eclectic approaches - all fail to examine architecture’s “real connection” to material processes.... Architecture of all the arts is most directly tied to economic and social conditions given both its scale of production and public use”.²⁰

Architectural styles and forms are shaped by the natural environment, the climate and by the natural restrictions of the landscape. More importantly, architectural styles are shaped by the cultural restrictions and limits, as far as it concerns the technology, the way of life and the national ideology. On that point, Porphyrrios suggests that “architecture is a form of representation that naturalizes certain meanings and eternalises the present state world in the interests of a hegemonic power”.²¹ That is evident in the city of Athens of the 1830s by the way in which monumental buildings are constructed and decorated, so that

¹⁸ Derrida, Jacques. *De la grammatologie*, Paris 1967

¹⁹ Krier, Leon. *Houses, palaces, cities*. London , *Architectural Design*, 1984. Guest edited by Dimitri Porphyrrios

²⁰ Hays, Michael, Colomina, Beatriz, MacLeod, Mary,& Pollak Linda (eds.) *Assemblage: A Critical Journal of Architecture and Design Culture*. Cambridge , MA, MIT Press & J .Paul Getty Trust, 6 June 1988:9

²¹ Porphyrrios, *Houses, palaces, cities*: 16

they would emphasize classical tradition by imposing building structures and decoration derived from Antiquity.

In some societies, traditional forms of architecture present great stability. Many different styles in different historical periods are adopted and imitated, like elements of classical Greek and Roman architecture for the design of nineteenth century neoclassical buildings. On the other hand, by the term “cultural identity”, we mean those characteristics that differentiate and divide human civilisation in specific geographical and historical contexts (Gamble 1996). When we refer to them within specific historical or political frameworks, we adopt the view that each cultural expression has unique and specific characteristics in time and space (Kontaratos 1977).

IV.5 Architecture and its Relation with Society

In contrast to popular architecture, which is the *reflection of the populus*, in that it addresses the needs of the people and their way of life, monumental architecture had, and still has, a widespread geographical appeal, regardless of personal taste: “monumental architecture addresses the collective aspect of life, meaning the life of society as a whole, and is usually created within the historic, social, economic, and political framework of the time. Its appeal however goes beyond the historical limits of the time in which it was created”.²² For example, the monumental buildings of Washington, Bavaria and Prussia have great similarities in terms of style and form. They are like those found in Greece in the 1830s.

Hence, even though in these countries we have different socio-political circumstances, distant historical periods and different reasons that led to their formation, monumental architecture has a uniform style that is identifiable throughout the ages. This has to do with the size of monumental buildings - always bigger and more imposing than private buildings, their location - always at the centre of the city or town or at a location

²² Voivonda, A, Kizilou, B, Kloutsiniotis, R, Kontaratos, S, Pyrgiotis, G, *City and regional planning in Greece. A historical survey*, review *Architecture in Greece*, 1977

where it can be seen, and the material from which it is made of - usually white marble (as in the case of Greece) or Portland Limestone. The white colour symbolised purity and the classical style permanence and superiority. Public architecture was the glorification of the state.

IV. 6 Architecture as Ideology

Greek architecture of the period from 1830 to 1862 has a particular form. It is an expression of an idiosyncratic culture, which blossomed through the ideas and prosperity of a newly-born tradition. At this point we should not forget that Greece was already part of Europe: it was part of a European ideology, which dictated architectural forms and styles based on Classicism. Thus in order to “fit in” the European Culture, it has to present its capital, Athens, as a European capital which had adopted the European Cultural Tradition and the architecture it imposes (Mpiris 1997).

Hence this turn to Classicism was not a conscious choice; it was rather imposed on the Greeks by their “European Cultural Environment” even though at times when Greece had lost its national character, the Greeks had a tendency towards antiquity and the artistic and philosophical ideas that characterised it.

Greek neo-classicism is a product of European Neo-classicism, and not a result of a particular bond with the ancient Greek civilization. The adoption of the particular architectural styles and forms, was not only due to the imitation of the forms and styles of the past, but also to the principles and the spirit that created them. They represented continuity with the past.

Tradition lies not only in recruiting some forms of the historical past, into the contemporary life.²³ Through the particular neo-classical architecture, Otto and his architects tried to revive the ancient Greek past. The monuments were there as reminders

²³ Brown, Paul-Graves, Jones, Sian & Gamble Clive. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology*, Routledge, London, 1996

of the philosophical pursuits, ideological principles of the “glorious” past, of an “ideal” state. In other words there was a conscious attempt on the part of Otto to reposition and redefine the Greek ties with the past.

IV. 7 Architecture as Symbolism

Tradition, culture, and the return to the principles of the past, could be regarded as products of European Neo-classicism. During the eighteenth century there was a general trend towards archaeology and the past. This interest in the past was presented through the desire to collect and possess material objects and with the growing prestige of disciplined curiosity. Private collections turned into museums, which by the eighteenth century were opened to the public. The cult of the past was manifested in the establishment of museums and in the preservation of old buildings. Any preservation or conservation had to look as “authentic and original” as possible, in order to denote the continuity with the past:

“Greeks!!

.....God has appointed me to rule this country and give you back all these which were lawfully yours. **For this reason and having as worthy of your glorious past architects and engineers educated in the best schools European Intellectualism can offer, I will recreate all your city, the city of your glorious ancestors in the most original way to satisfy not only you their descendants but also their will as predecessors of our land...**²⁴

Nationhood employs different political devices and philosophical ideas in order to legitimate social and political actions. Karl Krause’s historicism focuses on the new and the different to diminish newness and mitigate difference. The new is made comfortable by being made familiar.²⁵

²⁴ Speech to the Greek people, 10th March 1830, cited in Vournas, T, *Istoria ths Neoterhs Elladas (History of Modern Greece)*, Pataki Publications, Athens, 1998: 25. First edition 1974, my emphasis.

²⁵ Cited in Juan López-Morillas, *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain, 1854–1874*, trans. Frances M. López-Morillas, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981

The concept of identity has been the issue of a veritable discursive explosion in recent years. The question of subjectivity and its unconscious processes of formation have been developed within the discourse of deconstruction theory and cultural criticism. Memory validates personal identity and history perpetuates collective self-awareness. The formation of identity through memory is achieved by bringing the past into the present or by bridging the past and the present, thereby confirming one's own identity. All memory transmutes experience either after having purified it, or by simply reflecting it. Memory alone cannot be perceived as an authentic source of identity since memory comprises of what has been impinged on us and of all the environment displays. Memory sifts again what perception has already sifted: leaving us with fragments of what was initially on view. Even though perception is not purely sensory, but relies on comparisons drawn from memory, memory is not always accurate or real. In nineteenth century Athens, architecture and urban planning were the means to promote and safeguard an alleged continuity from the past. They were the envelope to the diachrony and endurance of the past and the present. In the case of Athens, the "glorification" of the classical past and the proclamation of the rebirth of the authentic Greek culture created a yearning for a time when life was different and national identity was based on the "glories" of the past.

Tradition, whether "invented" (Hobsbawm 1989) or not, has a ritual or symbolic function within society. Invented traditions are usually created in response to a mass need, and are politically driven. Usually, there are certain pre-conditions for the creation of traditions. Such pre-conditions involve the way people are ready for tradition - especially after wars or radical social changes - in order to gain some form of cultural identity. Traditions suggest social/political stability within a nation and often act as types of public symbols.

An example of such a process can be found in eighteenth and nineteenth century Athens, where the classical tradition became the symbol of cultural identity. Greece, as a European capital, needed public architecture equal to the public architecture of the rest of

Europe. The study of ancient Greek literature and philosophy as a form of classical tradition was invented in order to support monumental architecture.²⁶ Therefore the Greeks did not only have a national identity, supported by archaeological findings, but a tradition rooted in the “glorious” classical times.

Otto was to be not only the “saviour” of the state but also a political authority equal to that of the “glorious” fifth century Athens. Otto legitimised his power through the ideologies of Greek superiority. The building of monuments –Otto’s palace in fact –on top of other existing antiquities projected continuity with the past. Hobsbawm’s suggestions (1984) on the third republic of France (1868-1884), and the three sets of inventions²⁷ can also be found in the case of Greece:

- Education was an equivalent of the church, and especially classics.
- Public ceremonies were introduced
- Public monuments were constructed

State ideology represented the ubiquitous relations of power in all levels of social, cultural, economic interactions. “Inventing traditions, it is assumed here, is essentially a process of formalization and ritualisation, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition”.²⁸

²⁶ Vournas, T. *Istoria tis Modernis kai Synchronis Elladas*, Patakis Publications 1998

²⁷ Kirby, Val, *Cultural Heritage and Landscape Lecture*, London, UCL, 1998

²⁸ Hobsbawm, R. & Ranger T. *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1996: 4

IV.8 A Sense of Place

“The idea of location in the multiple narratives of history helps us to achieve a sense of identity: personal, regional, national”²⁹, “place, in whatever guise is, like space and time...a social construct. The only interesting question that can be asked is: by what social processes is place constructed?”³⁰ A specific location, a community, a territory, a nation, or a philosophical/cultural notion, i.e. sense of place, can be defined as place. The process of monumental building often commemorates experiences either as a celebration (of a political power) or as a “painful” memorial.³¹ Supported by the fact of being rooted in a place, people had come to identify themselves with their place and their history, as they felt that it was their home and the home of their ancestors. Therefore, it is important to determine Greece’s relationship with tradition. Was Greece’s role one of imitation of the architectural styles of European Neo-classicism only, or has it contributed to the creation of such models?

We could suggest that the answer lies in between those two. Greece is a country with a particular ancient civilisation and culture that was admired by many different civilisations around the world. The philosophical principles and architectural styles have been adopted by different nations for reasons different to those of Greece but which still developed within the spectrum of a relationship with the past. This past was not strictly Greek but of an international nature.

Tradition in Greece, as elsewhere, was, and is, reflected in architecture. With that symbolic expression, Greeks showed, and still do, their relationship with the past. In a historical period that was so “fragile” politically and culturally, modern Greek culture consisted of the elements that were “borrowed” from tradition either for their practical usage, or for their symbolic significance: “this reference to the national past of the Greeks,

²⁹ Corner, J. & Harvey, S. *Enterprise and Heritage*, Routledge, London 1991: 168

³⁰ Harvey, D. *From Space to Place and back again*, cited in Bird, J. *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*, Routledge, London 1993:5

³¹ For example the monument to the “Unknown Soldier” in Syntagma Square which commemorates the Greeks who died during the Second World War.

in the 1830-1862, was made through the adoption of architectural forms that were connected with the past. For instance in an architectural creation, the idea of Hellenism can be presented through the capitals, and decorative sculptures of buildings, like the statues of Athena and Apollo in the Academy, which are historically determined elements, and through the use of traditional building materials and constructions, for example the massive white marble blocks from mount Penteli, or the Peraiko".³² These features in principle show a relation with their previous models, in order to emphasize the "Hellenism" of the creation. To what extent such phenomena are presented and used in history cannot be stated a priori. However such specific "choices" reveal the idiosyncratic trends, the ideology of the time and the society they represent.

State ideologies, political ambitions and economic aspirations are evident through architecture and urban planning. In the case of nineteenth century Athens, King Otto, by instructing the building of monuments on top of antiquities and within the periphery of the Acropolis, emphasised the connection with ancient Greece and its leaders. Mpiris, emphasizes this point by suggesting that "architectural space articulates social order. The signs and posters of the built environment inform and expostulate. Architecture exerts a direct impact on the senses and feeling".³³

The built environment clarifies roles and relations. People know better who they are and how they ought to behave. They can recognize the authoritative power, represented by: the Palace of King Otto or the intellectual superiority of those who enter the University, the Academy and the National Library. Thus, the planned city of Athens in the 1830s, was the symbol of the new state, that had its roots in fifth century Athens.

³² Voivonda, A, Kizilou, B, Kloutsiniotis, R, Kontaratos, S, Pyrgiotis, G, *City and regional planning in Greece. A historical survey*", review *Architecture in Greece*, 1977: 60

³³ Ibid. 1997: 97

IV. 9 The Projection of the Past as Nostalgia

A monument has multiple interpretations when it comes to its perception and meaning. Nostalgia which could be considered as an admiration of the aesthetics of a previous time plays an important role in the interpretation of the monument. Nostalgia is an attitude in which the past is idealised, and admired a way of life that has been lost. The past appears more attractive to live in than the present, which leads to imitation of past ways of life and the invention of ancient traditions. It has been argued (Davis 1979, Fisher 1980, Lowenthal 1985) that nostalgia often appears during an identity crisis or weakness of confidence in the present, which is compensated by turning to an idealised past. David Lowenthal suggests in this context:

“Significantly, one thing absent from this imagined past is nostalgia- no one then looked back in yearning or for succour...What we are nostalgic for is not the past as it was or even as we wish it were: but for the condition of *having been*, with a concomitant integration and completeness lacking in any present”³⁴

In this light, ancient monuments, and in particular the classical monuments of fifth century Greece, become valued not *despite* but *because* of their artistic values. With the travellers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such nostalgia became integral to neo-Greek culture. Nostalgia for the idealised fifth century past became the driving force behind the production of neoclassical monuments that would imitate classical aesthetics and styles. For example the Panathinaiko Stadium, in the centre of Greece, which hosted the first Olympic Games was redesigned and preserved in its original form. Mpiris says on this, “that even the original level of seats was found and redesigned to add to its authentic aesthetic value”.³⁵ (Pl. 3)

³⁴ Lowenthal, David. *Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't*, cited in Chase & Shaw (eds) *The dimensions of nostalgia* 1989b: 29

³⁵ Mpiris, Kostas. *Ai Athinai apo tou nineteenth os tou 20ou aiona* (*Athens of the nineteenth and 20th centuries*), Melissa Publications, 1992: 57

Volker Fisher (1980) argued that the idea of nostalgia can be understood as a metahistorical way of appropriating the past, which is shaped by the distinctive conditions of particular cultural contexts. It can therefore, be applied to different historical periods.³⁶

There are three sets of requirements under which nostalgia develops.³⁷

First of all, when we are nostalgic, we view time as linear and with an underdetermined future. This process is typical in many Western societies where elder citizens long for an idealised past, the lack of which, makes them feel uncertain for their future.

Secondly, there is a sense that the present is deficient: “in yesterday we find what we miss today”³⁸, as the undesirable state of the present and its compensation by a turn towards the past. Thirdly, this longing for the past involves objects, buildings, or images that must be available in order to become appropriated nostalgically. Nineteenth century Greeks were experiencing a nostalgic mood not only in mainland Greece but abroad. This feeling of nostalgia for the classical past was evident all over the world where Greeks lived and prospered. Further examples of nostalgia can be found in Egypt, where a very strong Greek community lived in Alexandria at the time of the creation of Modern Athens.

(Pl. 4)

Ancient heritage was not perceived as a foreign element of the new State architecture but as integral part of their own architecture. Certain traditions, like the teaching of ancient Greek and religious studies, continued and ancient objects gained new meaning as museum exhibits. Through the “reuse” of ancient monuments, the neoclassical buildings of Athens were legitimised. The very sense of national pride became the national identity and the aura of authenticity demanded respect.

Nostalgia for the classical past and the idealised notion of classical Athens began with the German debate of *Which style should we built?* and found its most profound application in the creation of nineteenth century Athens. The Germanic plan for New Athens both respected the past and anticipated the future. The plan was designed for a city

³⁶ Fisher, Volker, *Nostalgie: Geschichte und Kultur als Trödelmarkt*. Luzern and Frankfurt/ M. C. Bucher

³⁷ Chase, M. & Shaw, C. *The dimensions of nostalgia*, Chase & Shaw (eds) 1989b:2-4

³⁸ Lowenthal, D. *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge University press, 1985:49

of 35.000 to 40.000 inhabitants even though in 1833 Athens had only 4.000 citizens. People's resistance to urban change was evident in Greece in the criticism of the official rhetoric. The building and planning of Athens mediated between the opposing forces of forging a national identity and becoming European. Nineteenth century Greece was a country that embraced the contrasts between the upper class and the poor social conditions, and embodied the unity of the Greek culture. In 1892 following these actions, Gaston Deschamps notes that

“the Greek wants to adapt to the European customs while simultaneously the originality peculiar to his race. His pride urges him to imitate the Western manners and modes. At the same time however, he preserves an old fund of tenderness for the local traditions, from which he would part with difficulty. Among cultivated Greeks this sort of duality is striking”.³⁹

Despite the Greeks' effort to accommodate the new order of things, they still respected traditional values of family, religion and local attachments. This striking whole incorporated cultural and historical contrasts, deriving its strength and unique character from them. The modern Greeks were proud of their ancestors but equally aware of contemporary European developments. A Greek historian of the time summarises the Modern Greek idea of nationhood in his call “not to run to Europe thirsting for a *Master*...nor can one ignore the country's history and cultural foundations”.⁴⁰ The rhetoric of the modern at the time in Greece was the aspiration of joining the West and articulating the national voice and identity. These aspirations, however, were contradictions in themselves, for the Greeks still saw religion as a major part of their identity and emphasised the significance of religion in the building of the nation. On the other hand though, for the Europeans involved in the building of new Athens, Greek identity was about appreciation and imitation of classical art and way of life disconnected from their immediate past within the Ottoman Empire. Their primary preoccupation with academic institutions, ministries and theatres was to symbolize progress. Modern

³⁹ Deschamps Gaston, *La Grece d'aujourd' hui*, Paris, 1892

⁴⁰ Giannopoulos, Pericles. *H Sugxronos Zographiki (Modern Painting) Acropolis newspaper*, December 1902:56

Athenians, through the press, actively debated the significance of institutions which had been adopted from foreign political and cultural building models with no consideration for local needs. The specific need and symbolism of each institution was addressed in detail and was questioned in the press with often-fierce criticism: "What about the need for a central market?" While architectural styles and details were also topics for discussion, most of the criticism focused on the meanings and symbolism represented by the buildings, as well as the appropriateness of some buildings in light of the country's socio-economic conditions,

The response of the government to these criticisms was the fabrication of elaborate ceremonies to mark the beginning of new structures attended by the Church and state representatives. These building ceremonies were intended to forge the idea of a unified Greek nation and to reinforce the political and cultural authority of the government. New Athens, therefore, was a complex matter of politics and architecture for the local population and their government. The new image of Athens was shaped by the introduction of major boulevards, notably the Athenas and University Streets, the widening of existing ones and the design of major structures like the Athenian Trilogy and the Cathedral. This image was to replace the existing earlier Byzantine - Ottoman city. For the Greeks though, this mixture of the Old with the New was the very basis of their national identity. The unified Greek nation with one language, one culture, one religion and shared historical consciousness was created upon the values of the past and the present. The cultivation of national identity was directed towards its citizens and towards the Greeks who lived abroad. Language, history and religion were all examined anew and seen now as the foundations of a unifying state culture and ideology. This process of nation building was, for the Greeks, more of a process of finding themselves in Europe and discovering their past. This was patriotism, rather than nationalism, as the Greeks were trying to form their modern identity while responding to the external stimuli of modern Europe. Surely, more than everyone who was involved in their rebuilding, the Greeks had identified the true nature of their national character: their roots in the past that encompassed both pasts, Classical Greece and the Byzantium. Pericles successfully

THE CREATION OF MODERN ATHENS

describes the Greeks' national identity: ***GREEKS ARE THEY WHO SHARE IN OUR EDUCATION, AND A GREEK IS SUCH NOT BY BIRTH BUT BY INTELLECT.***

(Pericles, Epitaph)

CHAPTER ONE

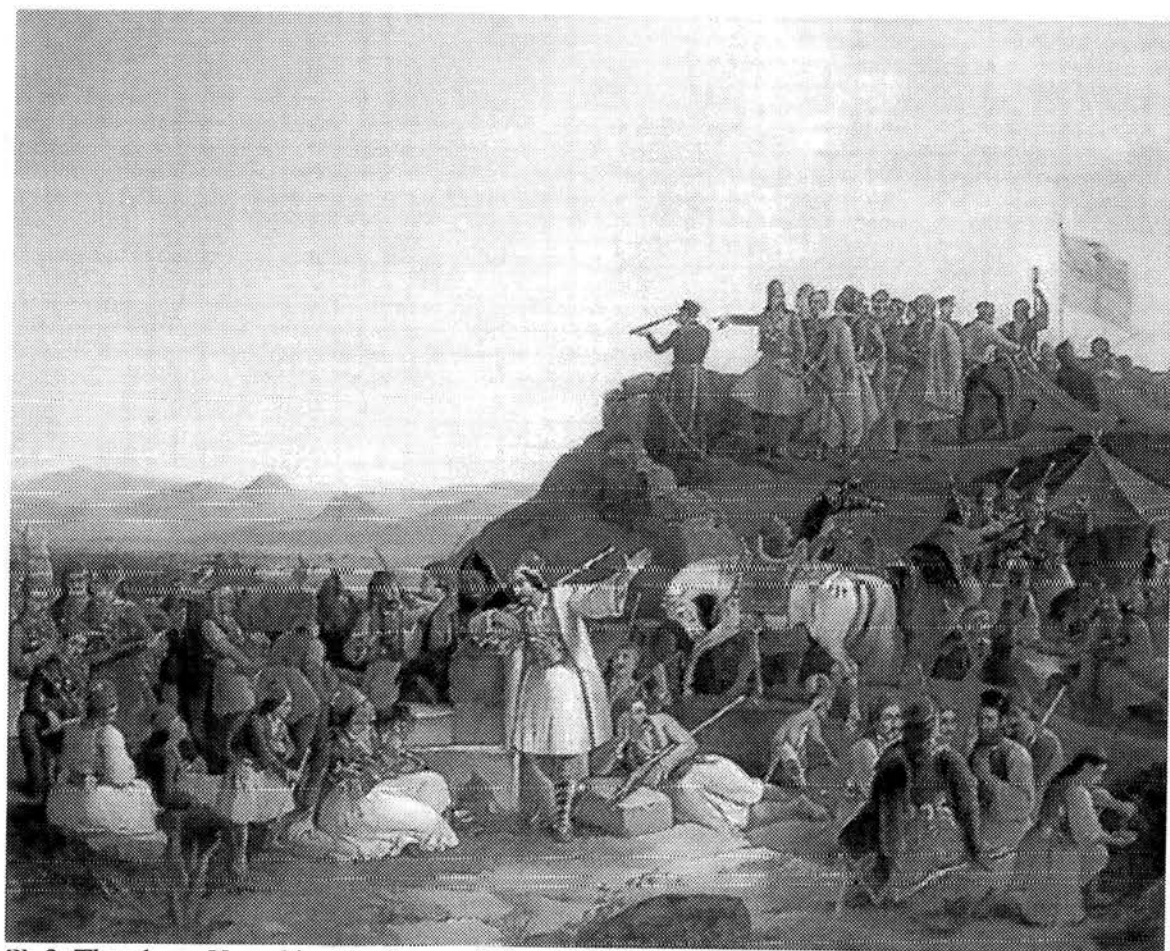
ILLUSTRATIONS



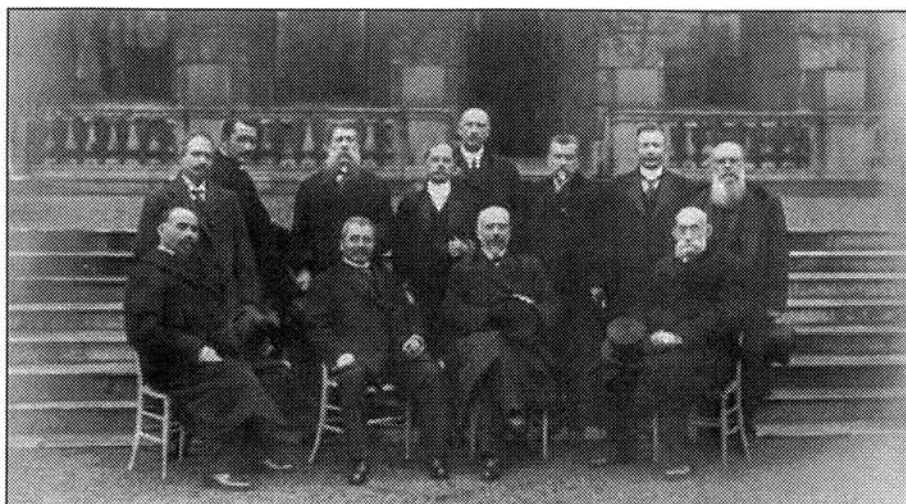
Pl. 1. Map of Greece. Shading indicates extent of Greece during Otto's reign. Independent Greece consisted of Morea, Rumely (Mainland Greece) and several Aegean islands. Bastea, Eleni, *The Creation of Modern Athens*



Pl. 2. 200-drachma bill of Greece. The image of Rhigas Feraios is at the front of the bill.
National Bank of Greece



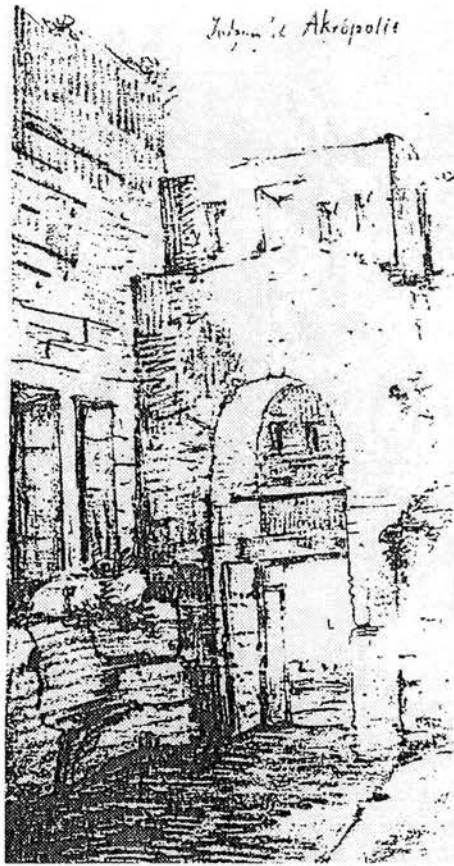
Pl. 3. Theodoros Vryzakis, *The Camp of Karaiskakis*, (1814-1878), inv.782, oil on canvas.
National Art Gallery of Athens



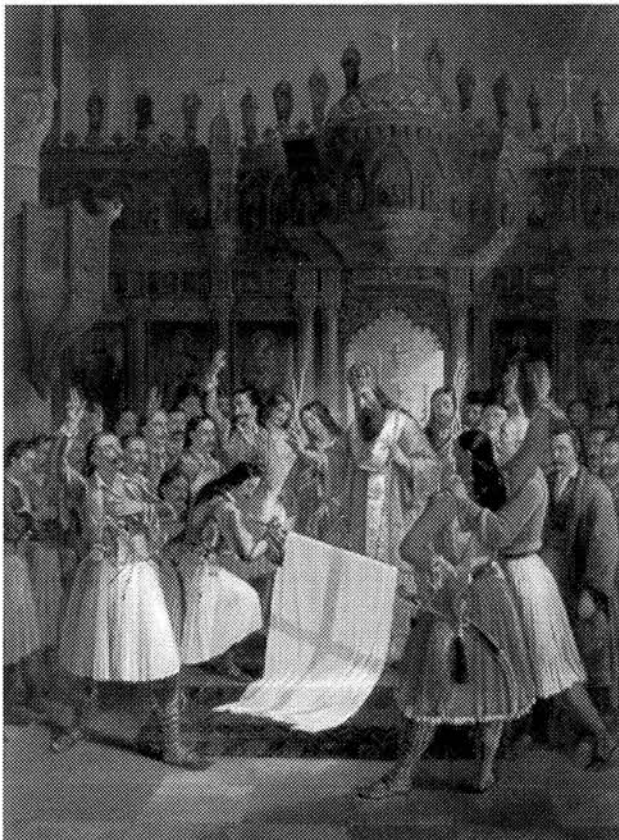
Pl. 4. The Allies of Greece. Photograph of English, French, Prussian, Bavarian, Danish and Russian Diplomats in Greece, 1840s. Benaki Museum Photographic Collection



Pl. 5. Portrait of Otto by Carl Stieler. Seidl, *Bavarn in Griechenland*, 1981



Pl. 6. "Entrance to the Acropolis" 1834. Pencil drawing, H.C.Hansen, Sketchbook 48, Kunstakademiet



Pl. 7. Theodoros Vryzakis, *The Oath of Fighters*, c. 1865. Ellapos, Greece



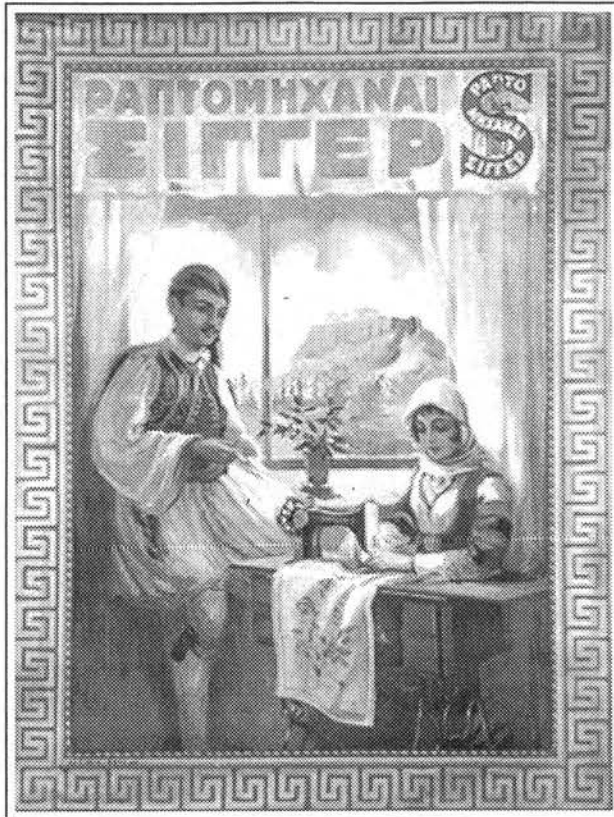
Pl. 8. Theodore Vryzakis, *The Sortie of Messolonghi*, 1853, Hellenic Ministry of Culture



Pl. 9. Nikolaos Gyzis *The Secret School*, c1880. Emfietzoglou Collection, Athens



Pl. 10. Greek Aristocrat, on wood, 13x20 cm. De Nicolay N., *Les navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie*, 1577: 207. Finopoulou, Eugeniou Collection, Athens



Pl. 11. Advert of the 1890s for Singer sowing machines. Depicted are a woman sowing and a man standing by the window with a view of the Acropolis. Both individuals wear Greece's traditional costumes. Hellenic Literature and Historical Archive (E.L.I.A)



Pl. 12. "Street in Athens with the Acropolis in the background". Watercolour, Stilling, H.C. Kunstakademiet

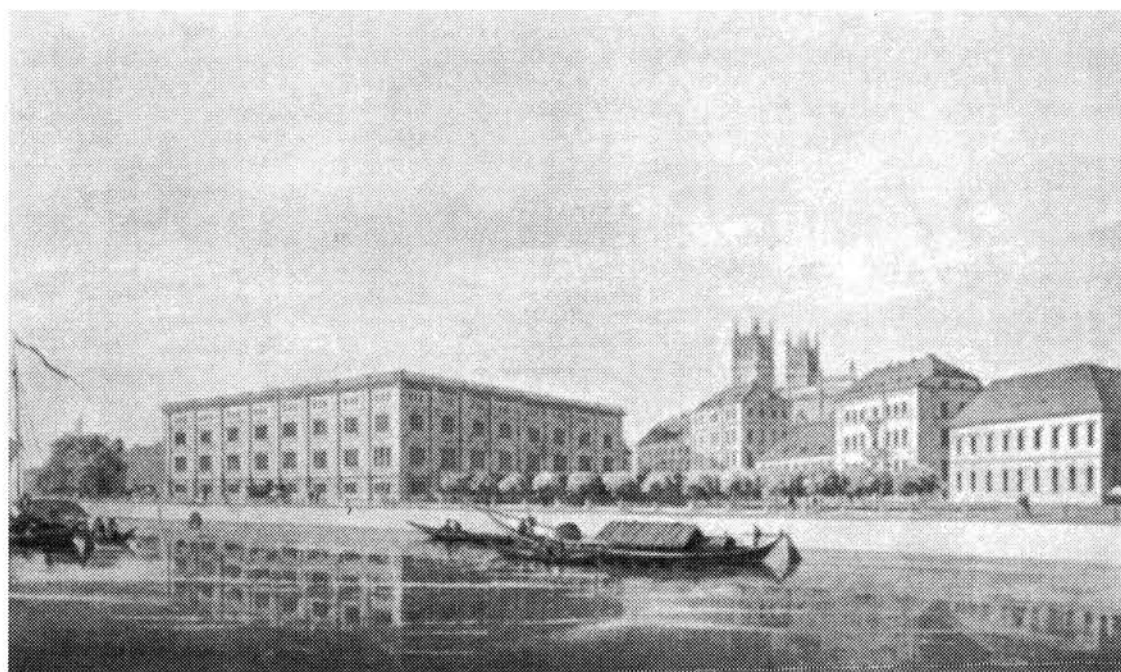
CHAPTER TWO

ILLUSTRATIONS

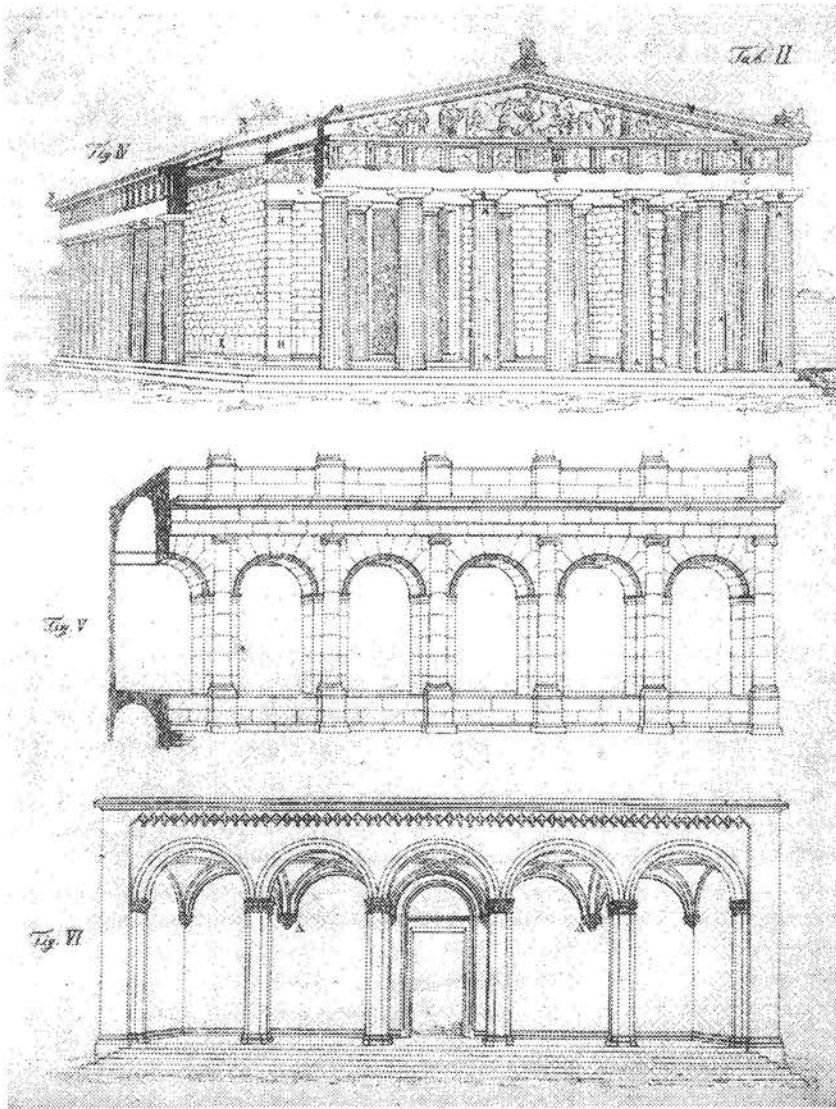
PART 1



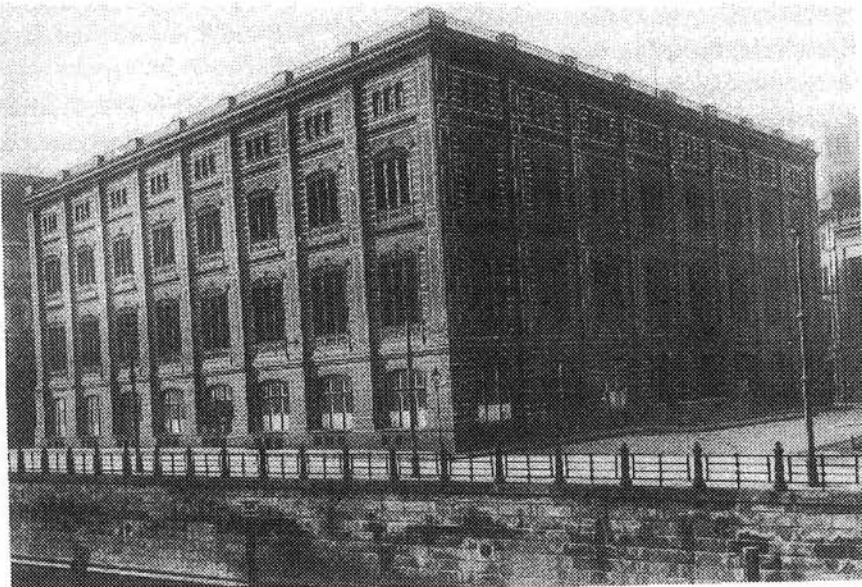
Pl. 1. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Altes Museum (1824-1828). Herrman, Wolfgang, *In what style should we build? The German Debate on Architectural Style*, The Getty Centre Publication Programs, 1992



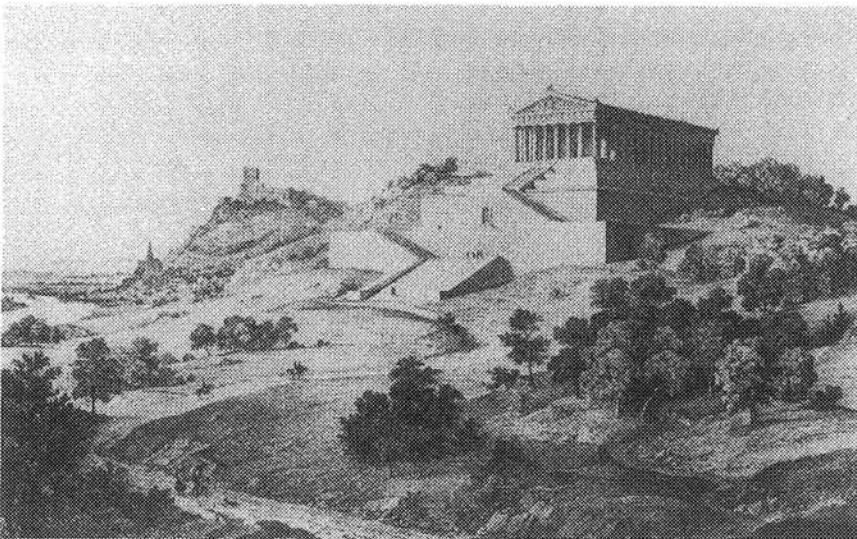
Pl. 2. Schinkel, Bauakademie, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



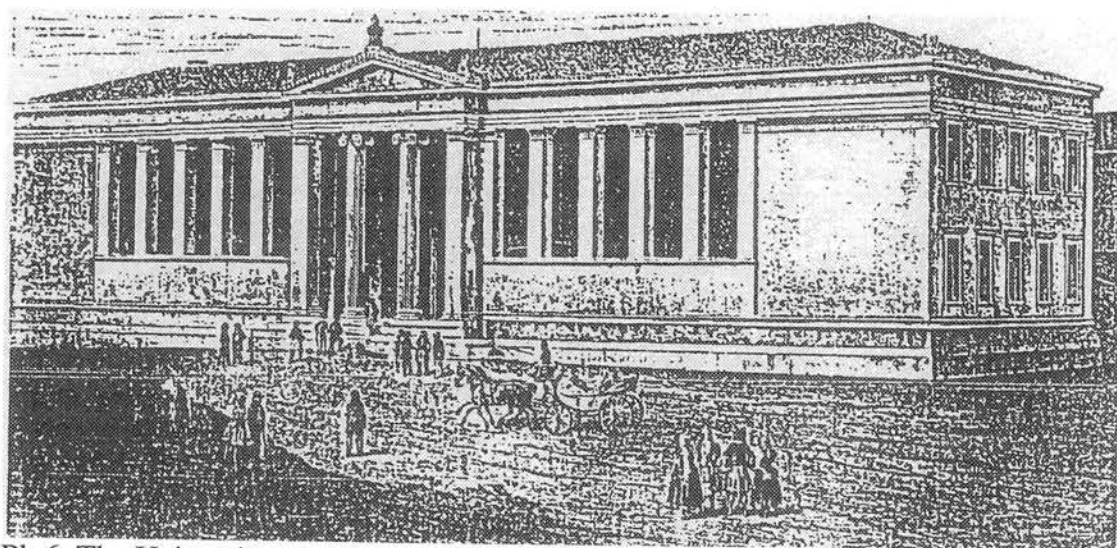
Pl. 3. Heinrich Huebsch Engraving from Heinrich Huebsch, *In Welchem Style sollen wir bauen?* (Karlsruhe: Chr.Fr. Müller Holzbuchhandlung und Holzbuchdruckerei, 1828), table 2, London Victoria and Albert Museum. Herrmann, Wolfgang. *In What style should we build?* Getty Institute Publications, 1992



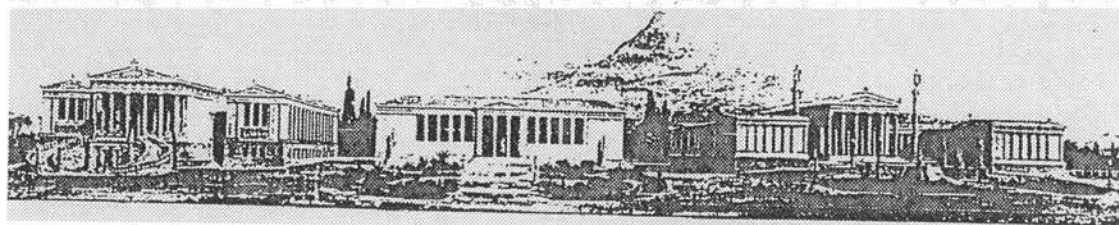
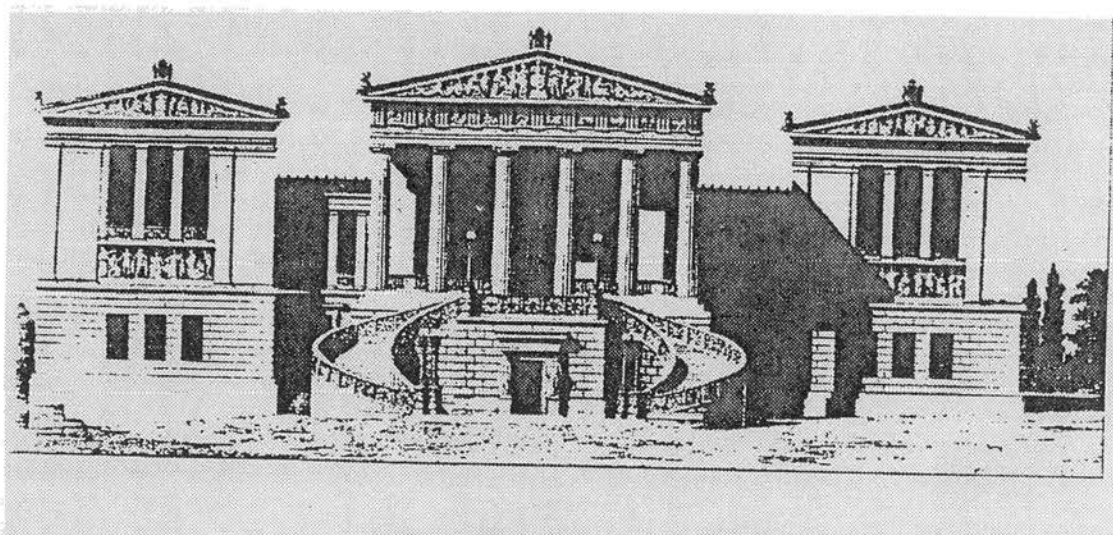
Pl. 4. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bauakademie, Berlin (1831-1836), Berlin Landesbildstelle. Herrmann, Wolfgang. *In What style should we build?* Getty Institute Publications, 1992



Pl. 5. Leo von Klenze, Walhalla near Regensburg (1830-1842). Lithograph by Carl August Lebschée after a painting by Klenze. Munich, Architekturmuseum, Technische Universität München. Herrmann, Wolfgang. *In What style should we build?* Getty Institute Publications, 1992



Pl. 6. The University of Athens, Otto's File, GAK.



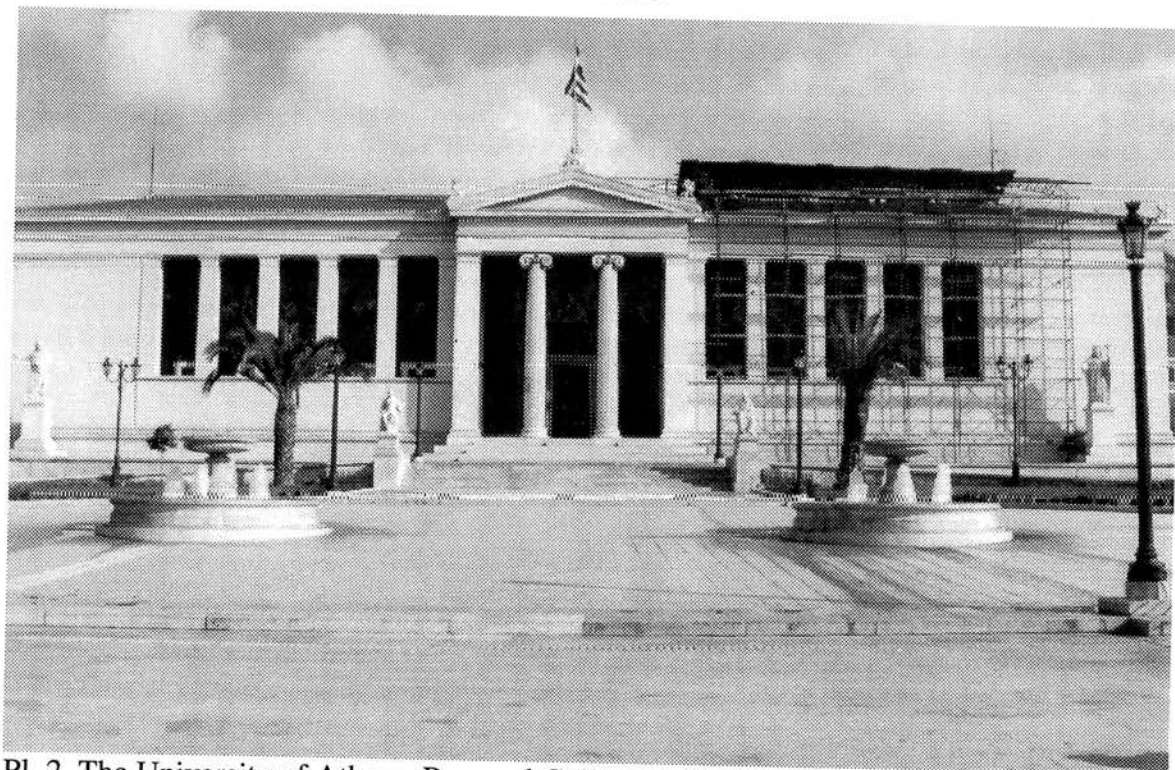
Pl. 7. Above: The National Library, below: the Athenian Trilogy of the National Library to the left, the University in the middle and the Academy of Athens. Otto's File, GAK

CHAPTER TWO
ILLUSTRATIONS
PART TWO

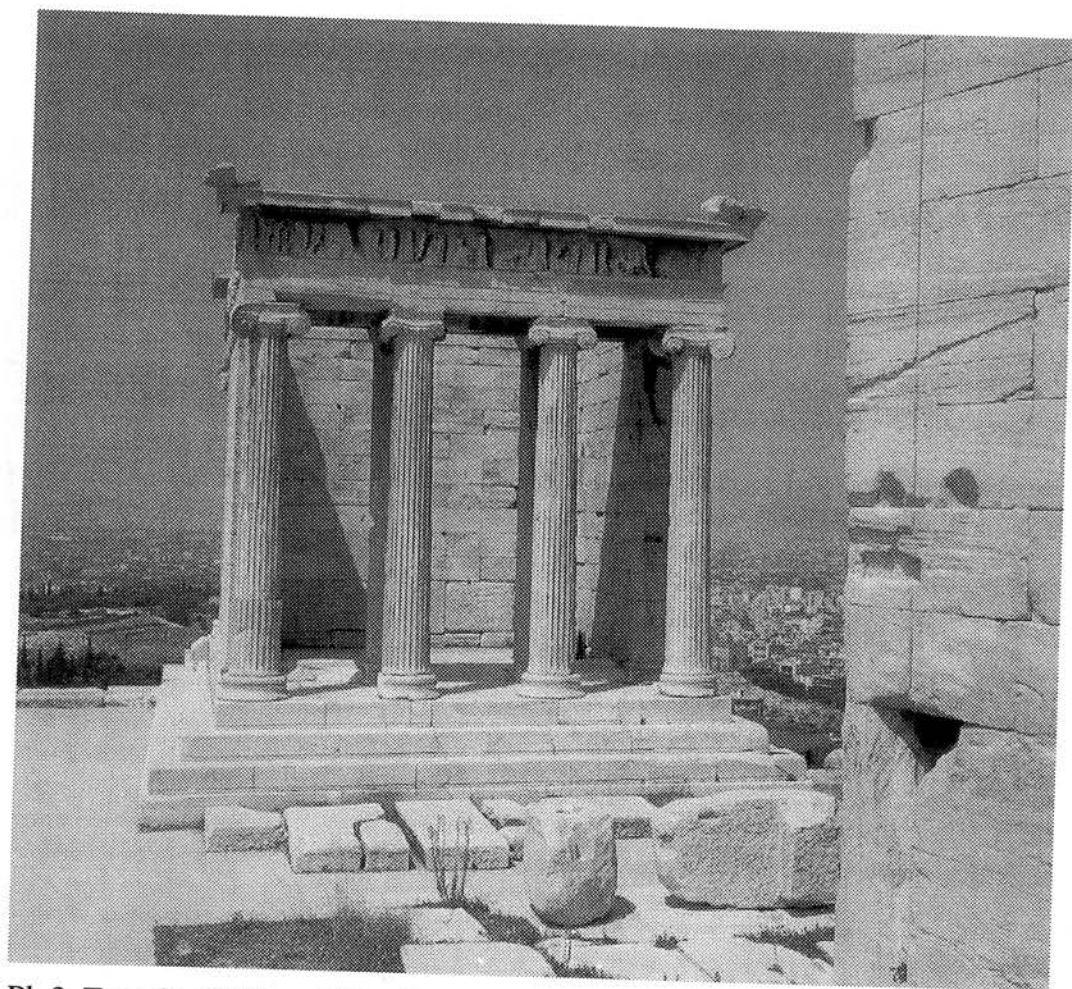


Pl. 1. The Athenian Trilogy. Source: Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002

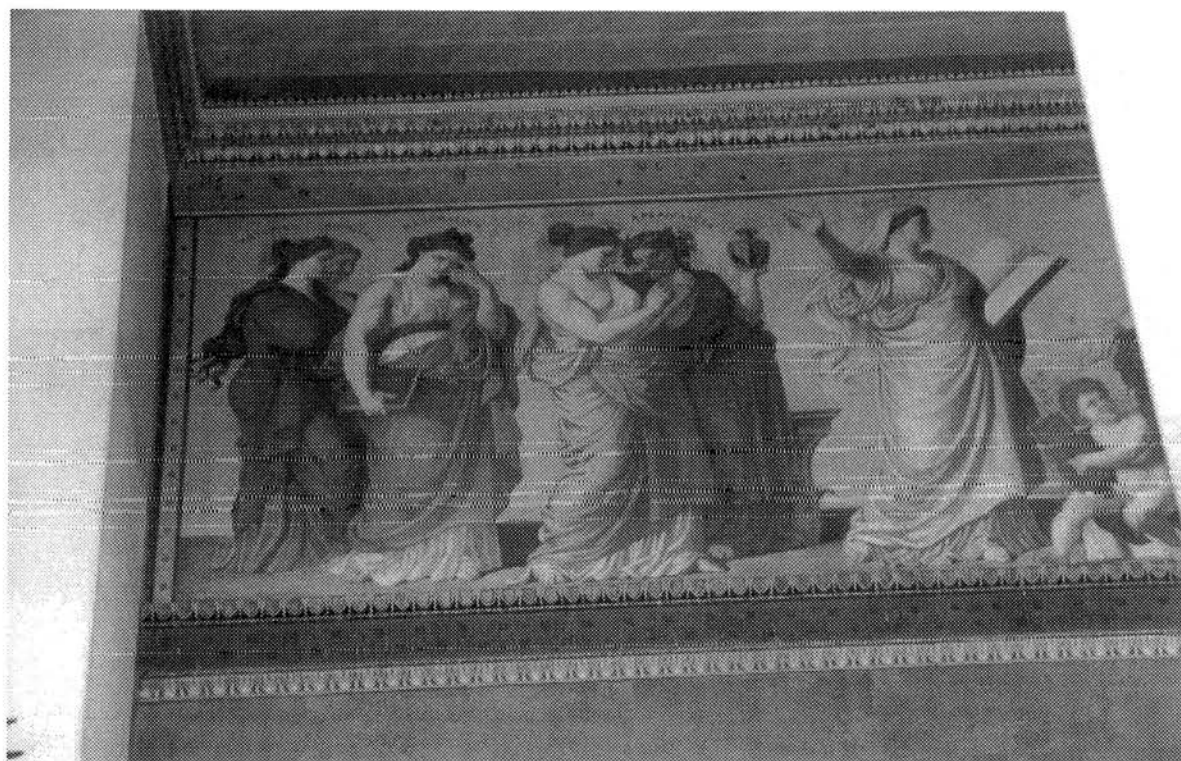
THE UNIVERSITY



Pl. 2. The University of Athens. Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002



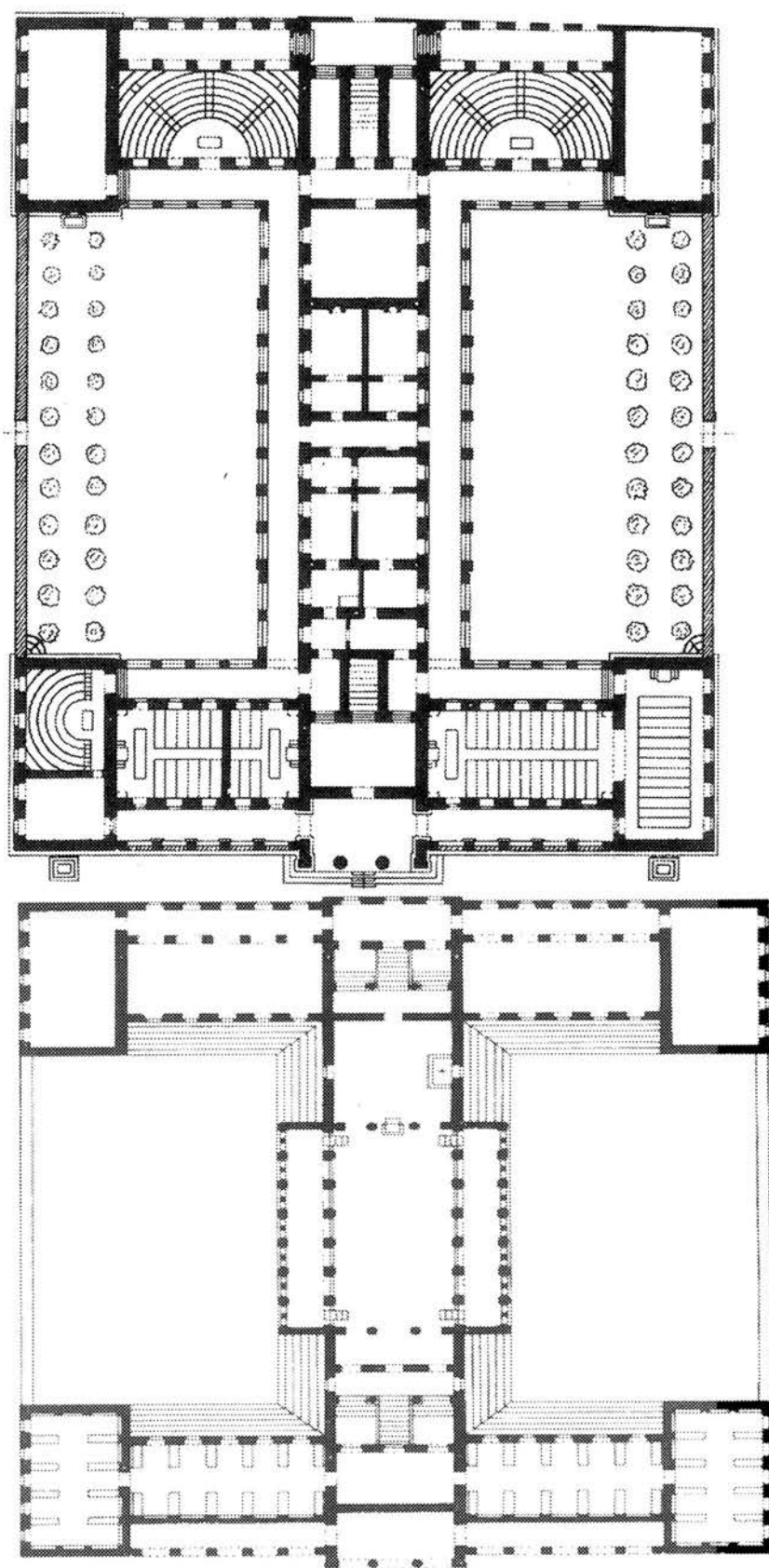
Pl. 3. Temple of Athena Nike. Personal Collection of the Author, January 2005



Pl. 4. Detail of the decoration of the University. Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002



Pl. 5. Detail of the decoration on the Birth of Arts and Sciences in Athens. Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002

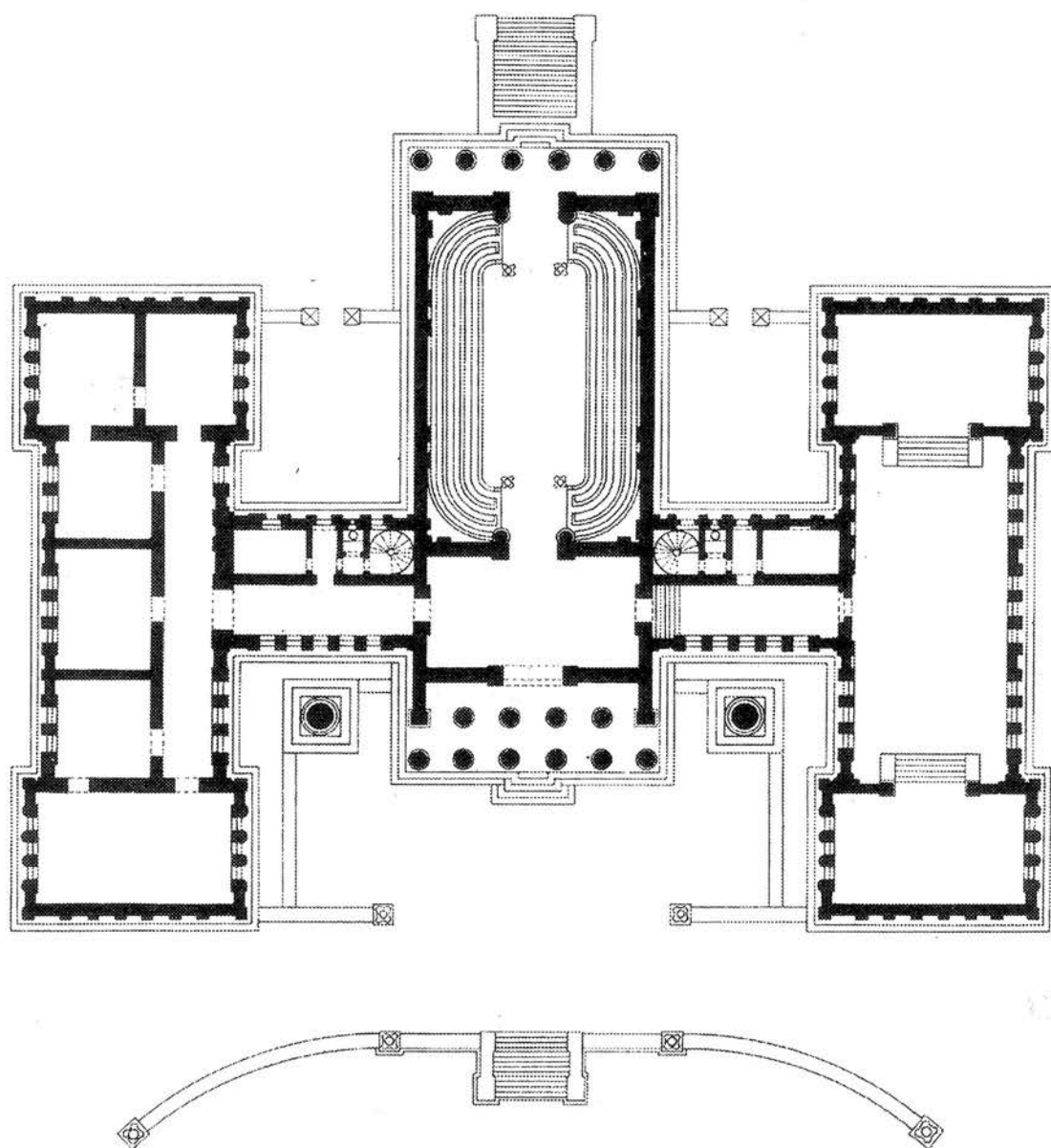


Pls. 6 & 7. Hansen, 1839. Floor plans of the University. Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona* (Athens from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries), Melissa Publications, Athens 1995

THE ACADEMY



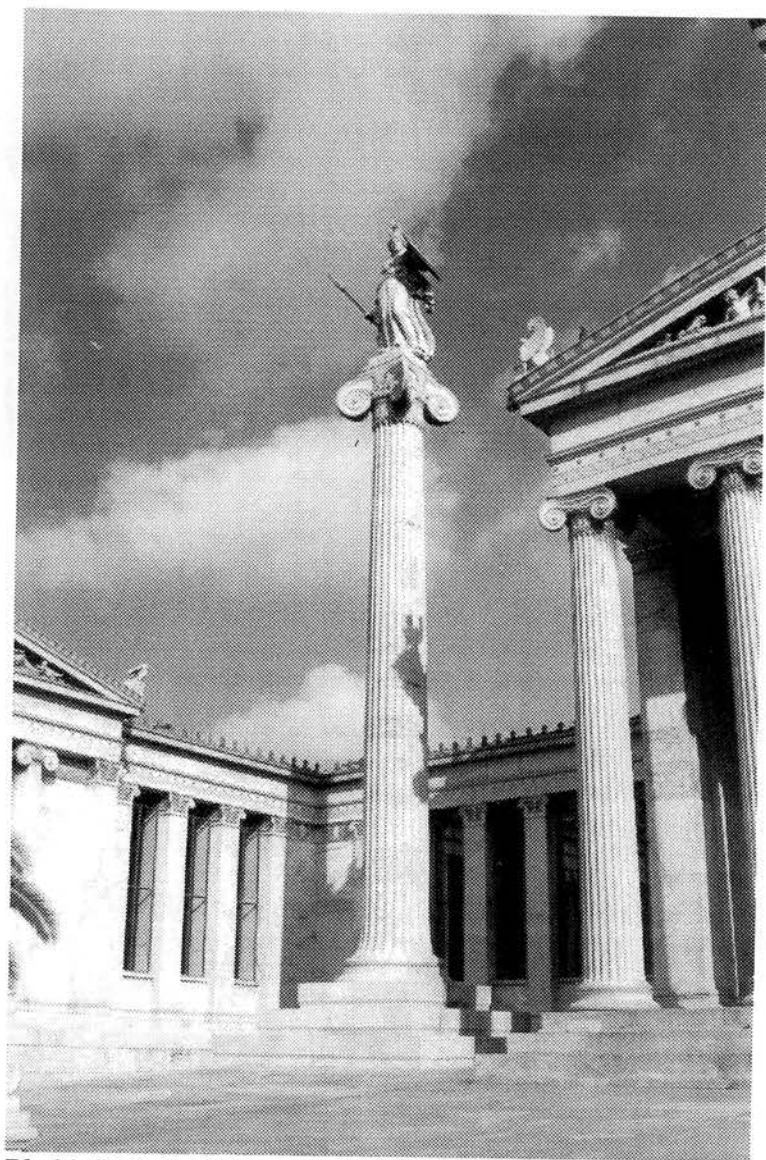
Pl. 8. The Academy of Athens. Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002



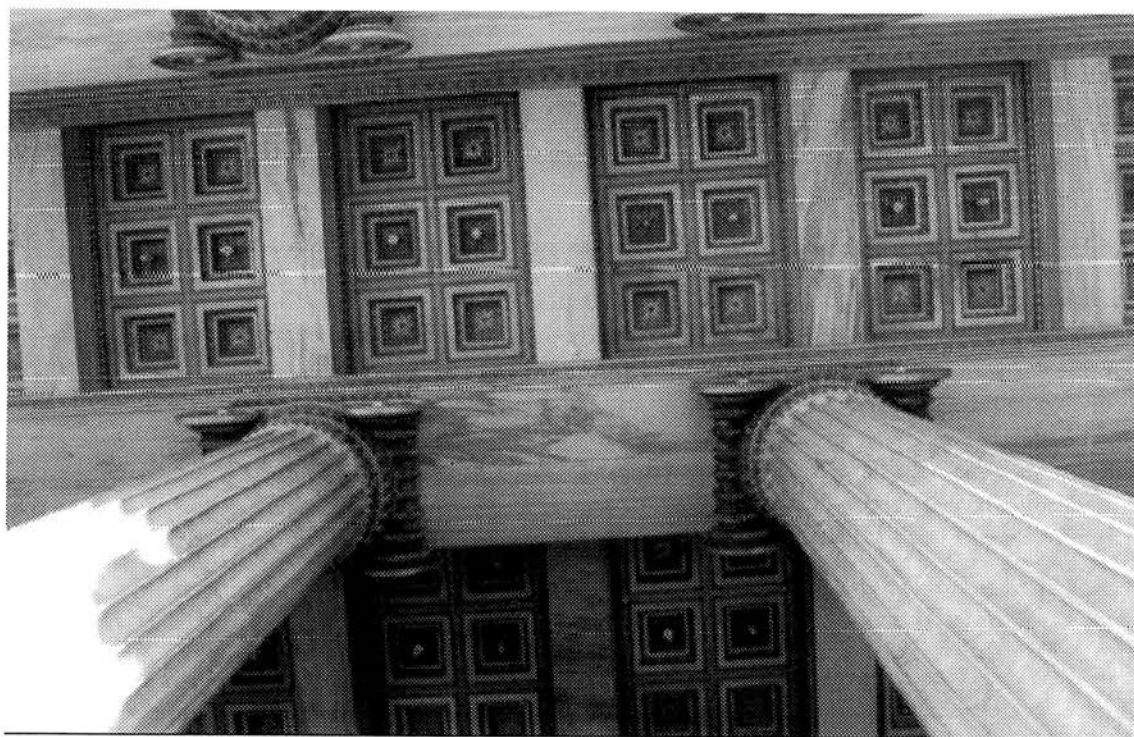
Pl. 9. Hansen, 1859. Floor plan of the Academy. Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona* (*Athens from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries*), Melissa Publications, Athens 1995



Pl. 10. The statues of Athena and Apollo in the background and Aristotle and Plato in the foreground as decorative elements of the Academy. Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002



Pl. 11. Detail of the statue of Athena in the courtyard of the Academy. Personal Collection of the Author, December 2002

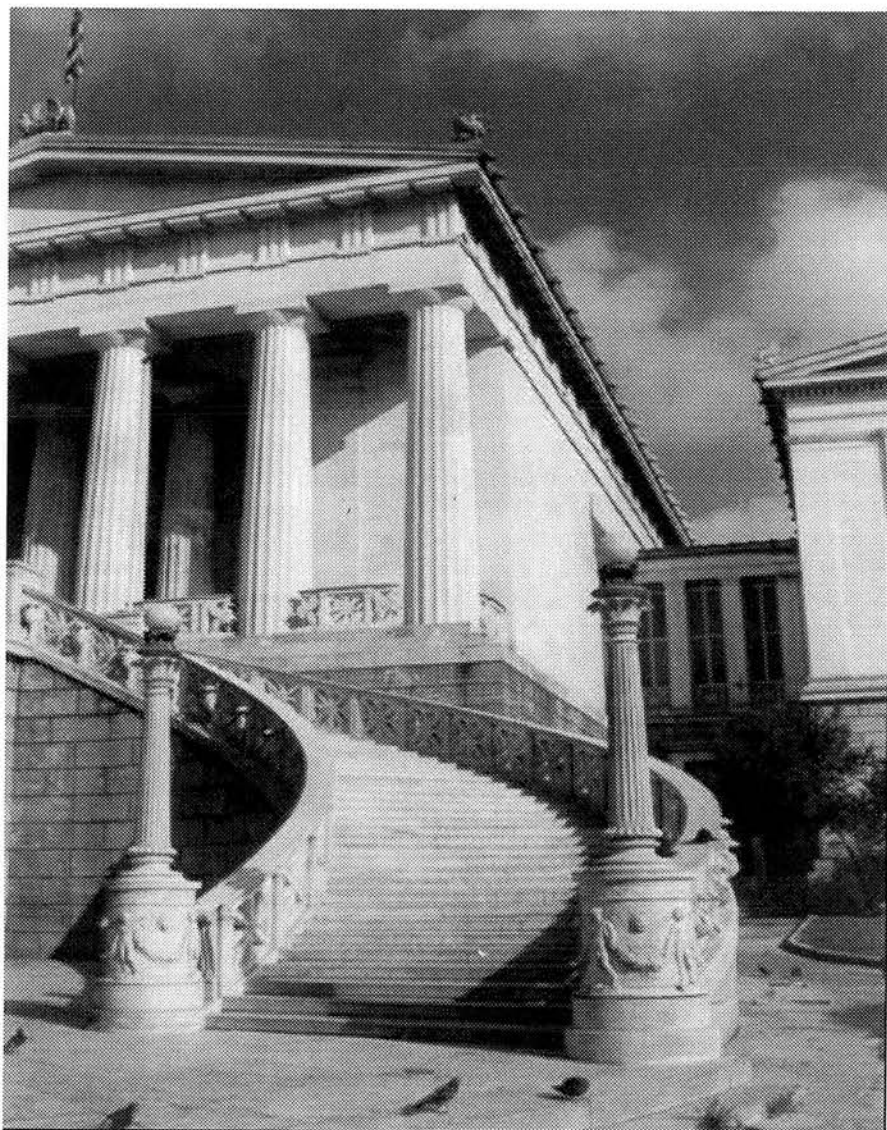


Pl. 12. Detail of the ceiling of the Academy. Note the golden and blue colours predominant in all decoration of the Trilogy. Personal collection of the Author, December 2002

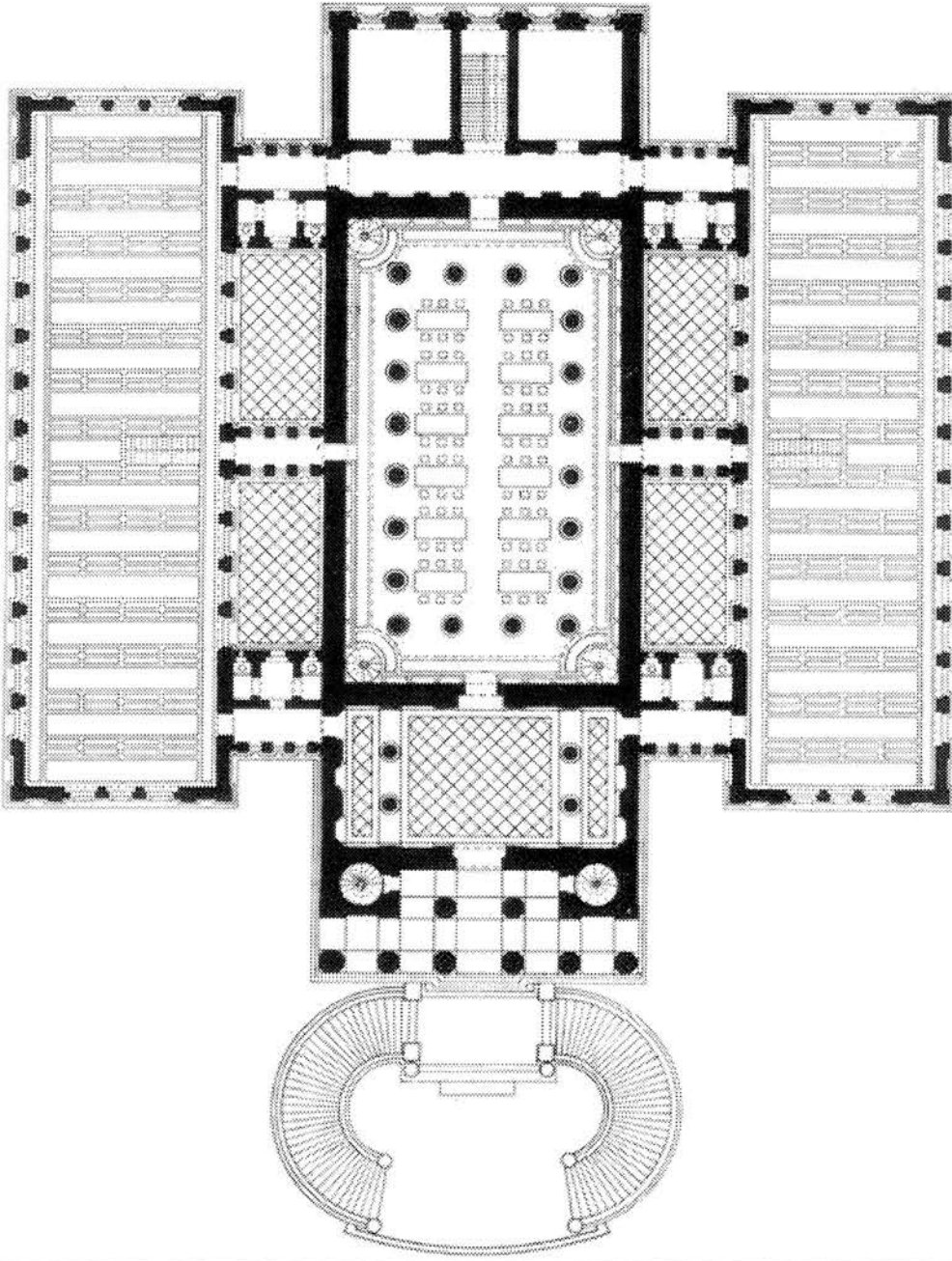
THE NATIONAL LIBRARY



Pl. 13. The National Library of Athens. Personal collection of the Author, December 2002



Pl. 14. Detail of the staircase of the Library. Personal collection of the Author, December 2002



Pl. 15. Hansen, 1858. Ground floor plan of the Library. Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou aiona* (Athens from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries), Melissa Publications, Athens 1995



Pl. 16. Detail of the cornices with ancient Greek statues and the renaissance staircase.
Personal collection of the Author, December 2002

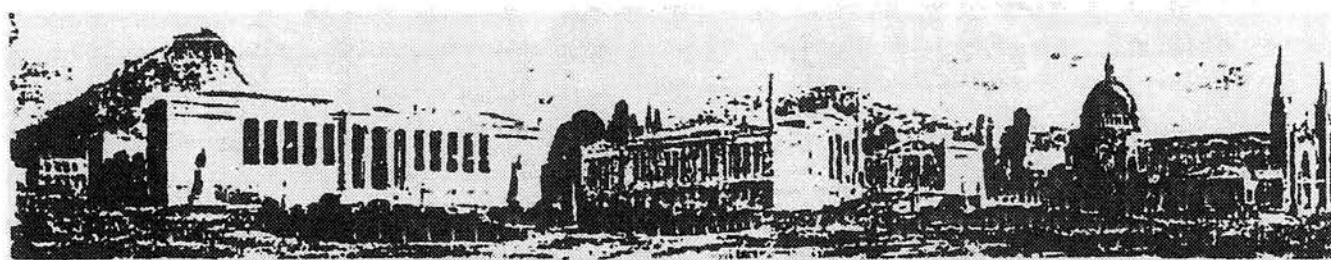
THE GREEK CATHEDRAL



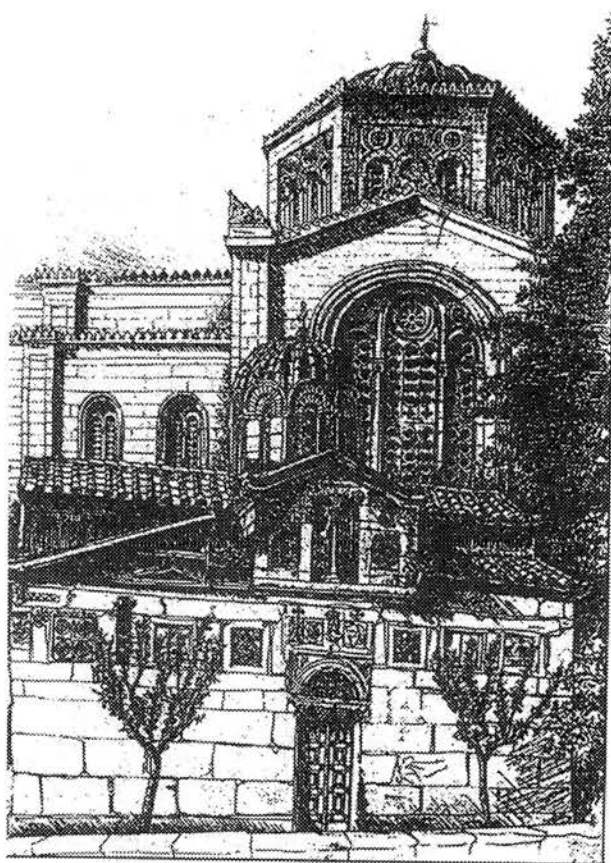
Pl. 17. The Greek cathedral. Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou Aiona* (*Athens from the nineteenth until the twentieth centuries*), Melissa Publications Athens, 1995



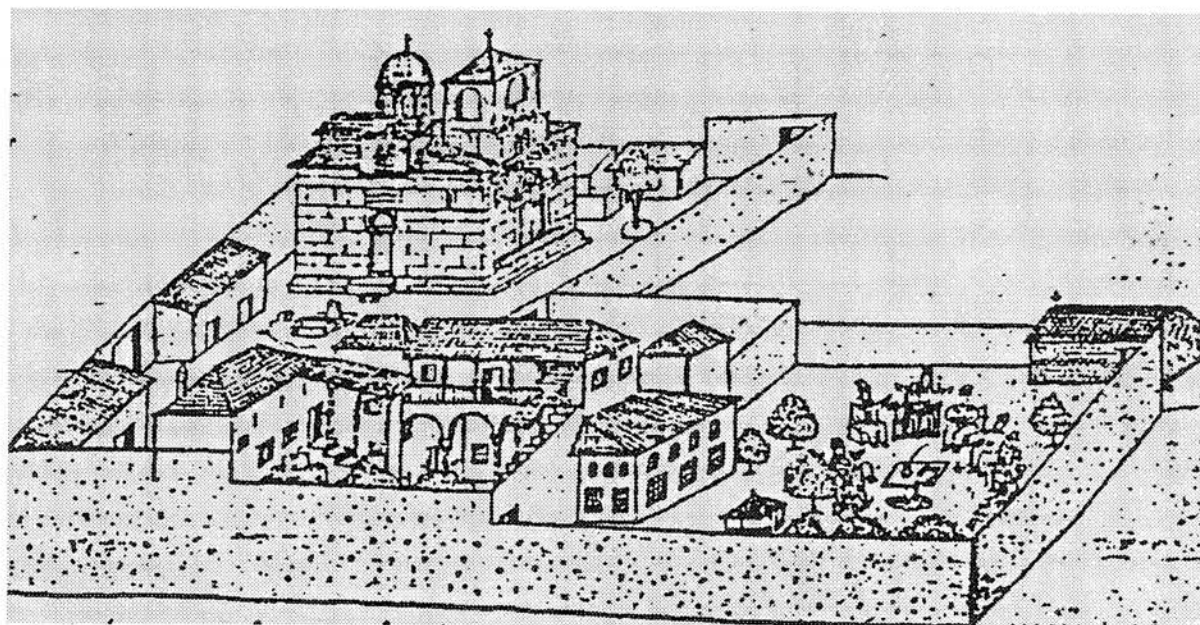
Pl. 18. The Anglican Church of Athens, designed by Hansen in neo-Gothic style. Personal collection of the author, September 2005.



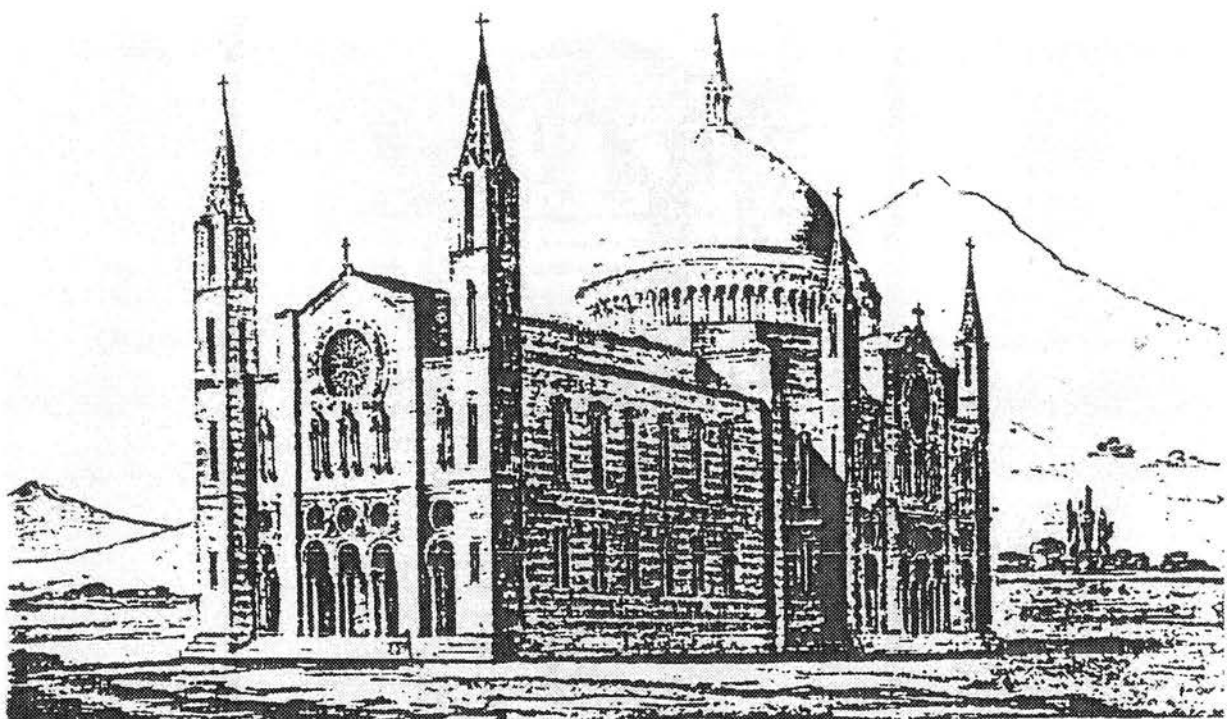
Pl. 19. The original unexecuted plan to build the Cathedral close to the Academy and the University. Theophil Hansen, Russack, *Deutsche bauen in Athen*, 1942.



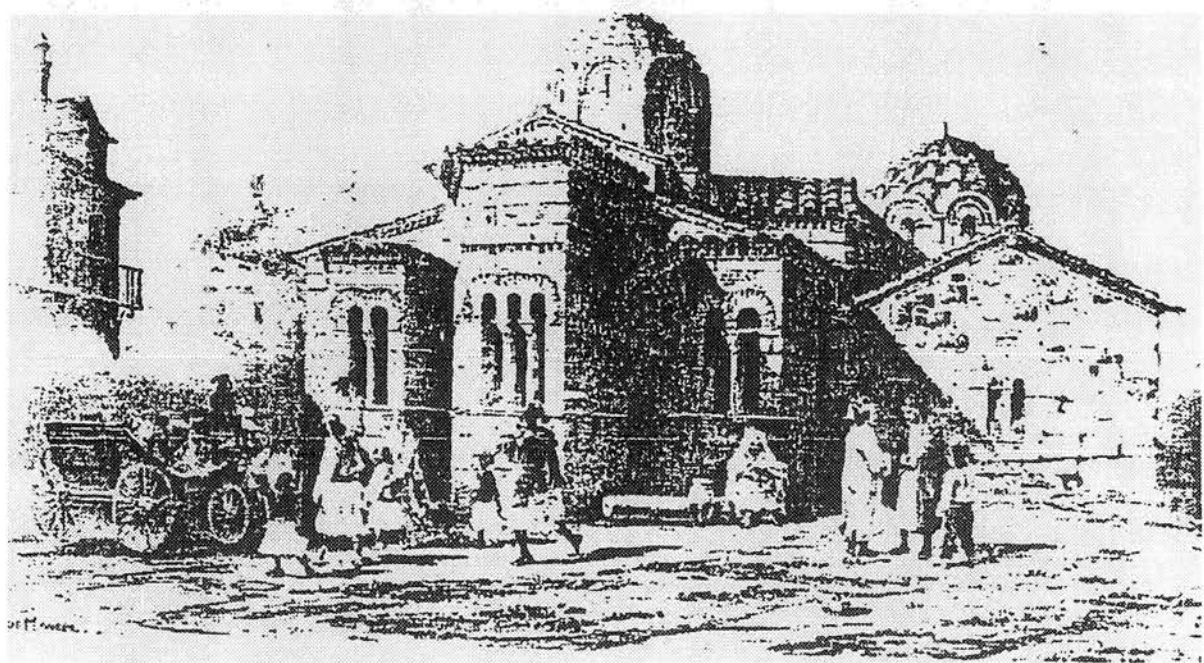
Pl. 20. The Church of Gorgoepekoos. Twelfth century coloured lithograph, Th. Du Moncel. *Vues pittoresques des monuments d' Athènes*, Paris, 1845.



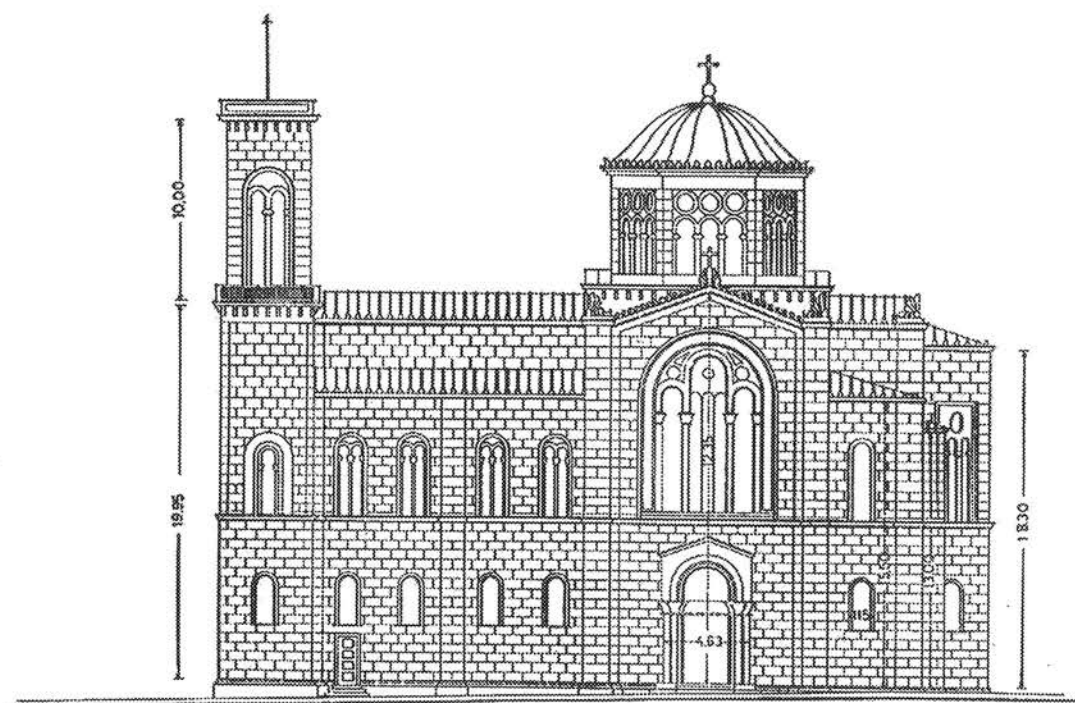
Pl. 21. The original cathedral complex during the Ottoman period, 1745. The complex is believed to have been at the area of the modern Cathedral of the Greek state. Mpiris, *Ai Athinai* (Athens), 1966.



Pl. 22. Theophil Hansen, proposal for the Cathedral. Russack, *Deutsche bauen in Athen*, 1942.



Pl. 23. The Byzantine Church of Kapnikarea, eleventh century. Coloured lithograph, Th. Du Moncel. *Vues pittoresques des monuments d'Athènes*, Paris, 1845.

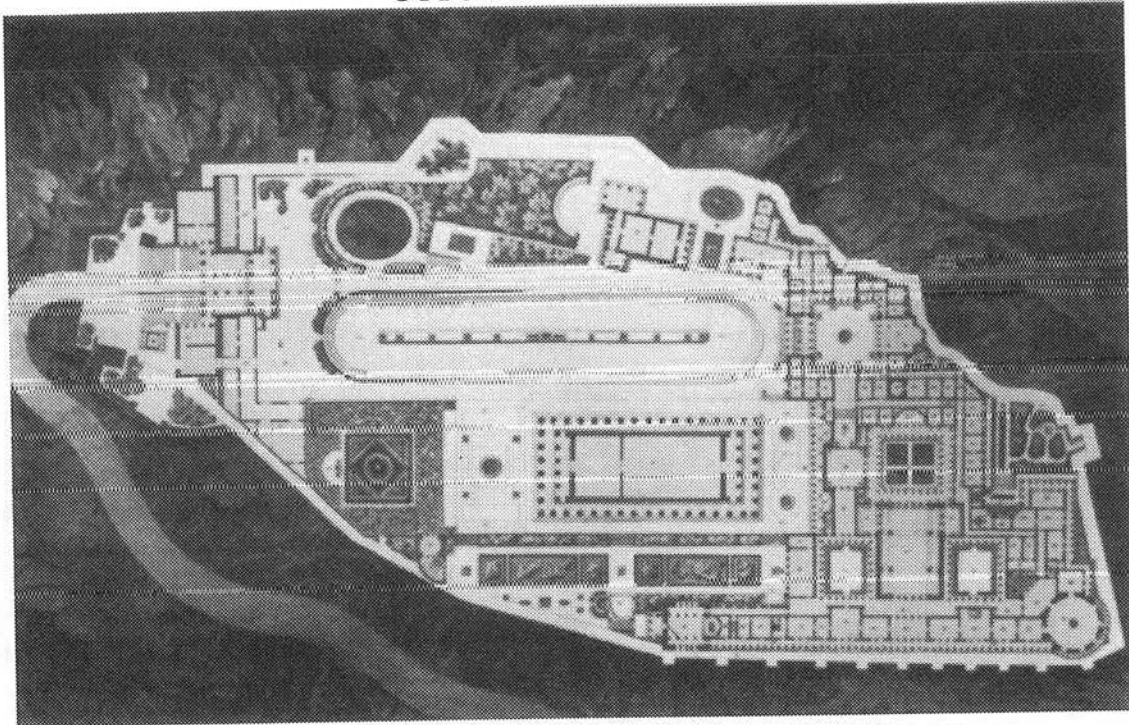


Pl. 24. Plan for the Cathedral and main elevation. Ecclesiastical Archives, archive file 20, Archbishop's office, Athens, March 2006.

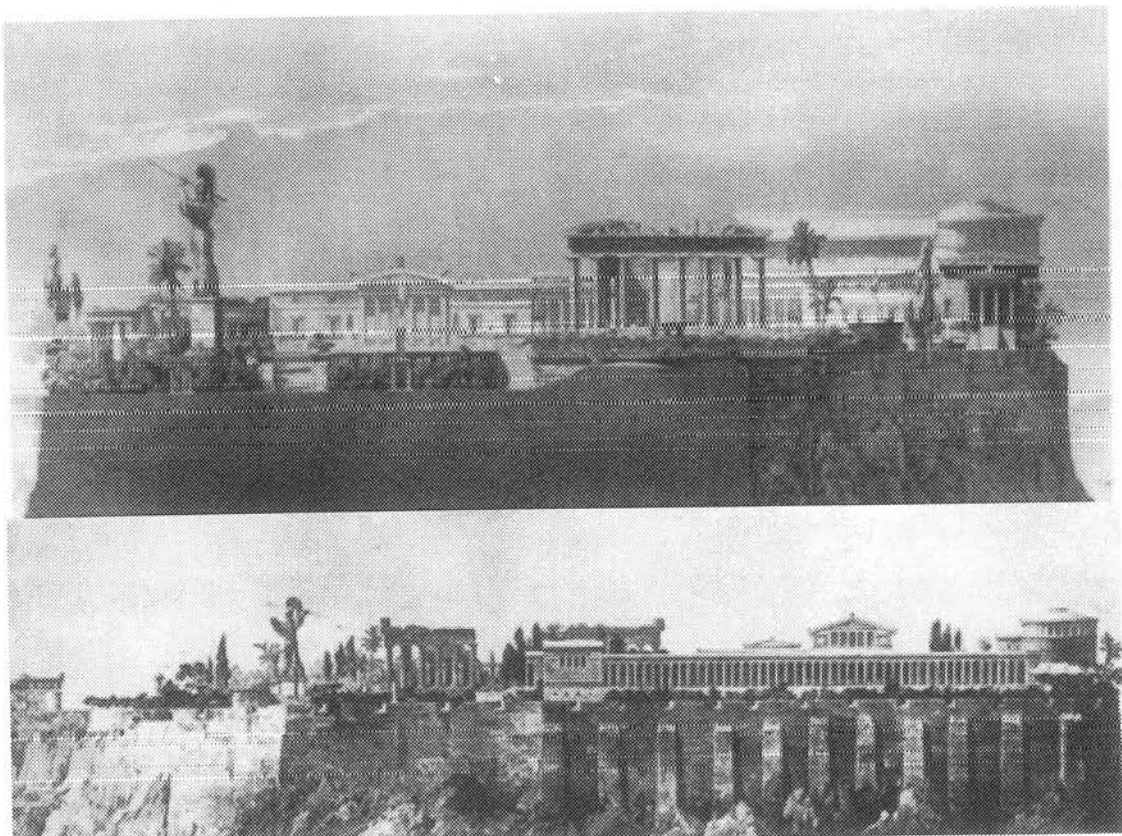


Pl. 25. The Cathedral with the small Byzantine Church of Gorgoepekoos. Ecclesiastical Archives, archive file 22, Archbishop's office, Athens, March 2006.

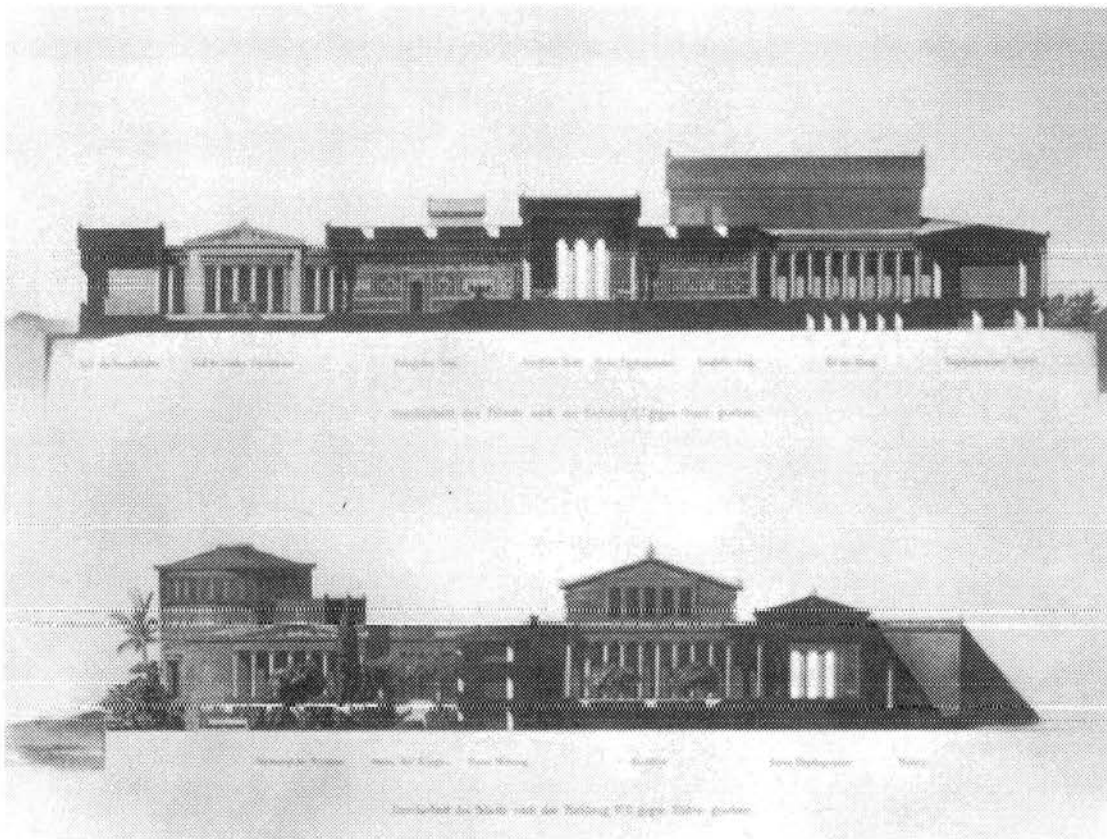
OTTO'S RESIDENCE



Pl. 26. Schinkel 1834, Design for a palace on the Acropolis. Schinkel, *Werke der höheren Baukunst*, 1.



Pl. 27. Schinkel's Design for Otto's Palace on the Acropolis. Above view from the west, below view from the south. Watercolour 1834. Schinkel, *Werke der höheren Baukunst*, 1.

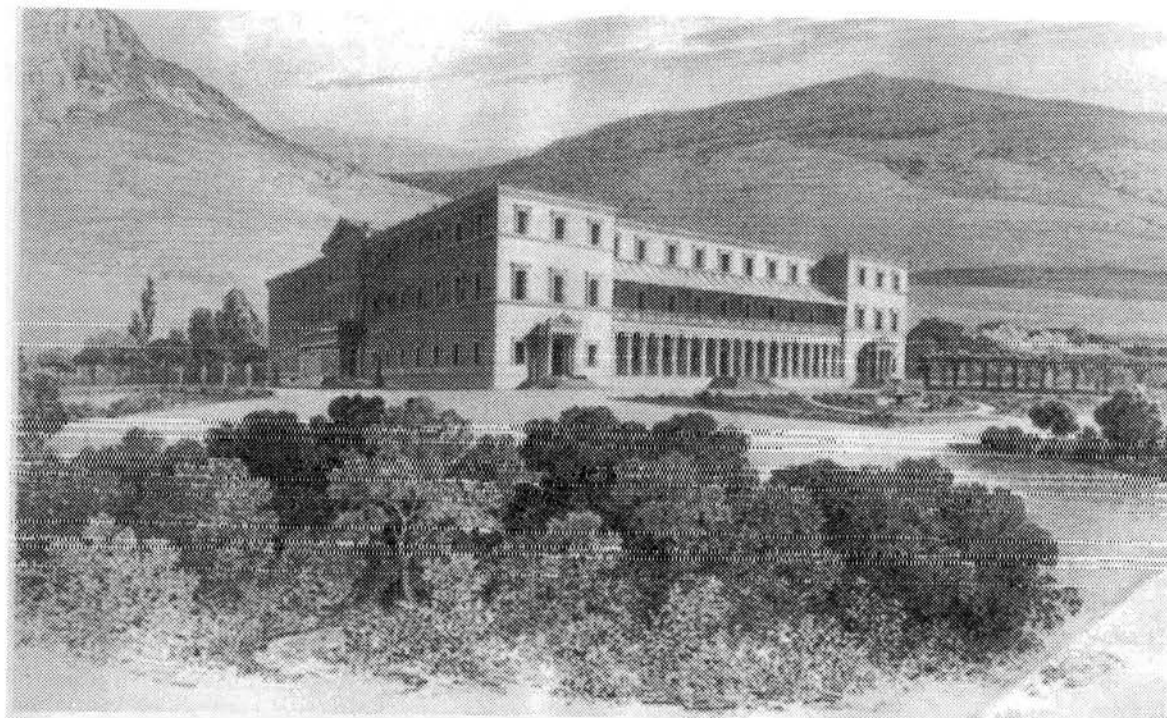


Pl. 28. Sections of the residence. Schinkel, *Werke der höheren Baukunst*, 1.

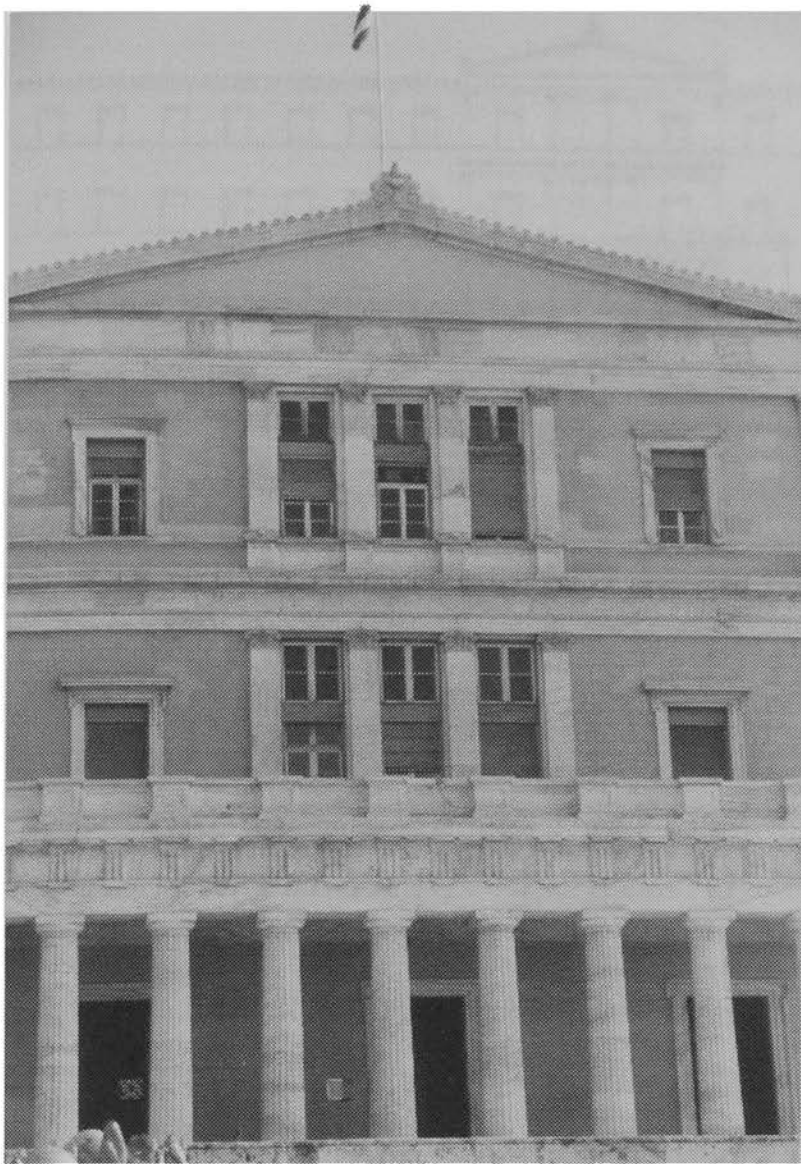


Pl. 29. Schinkel's Charlottenhof, Potsdam, Schinkel, *Werke der höheren Baukunst*, 1.

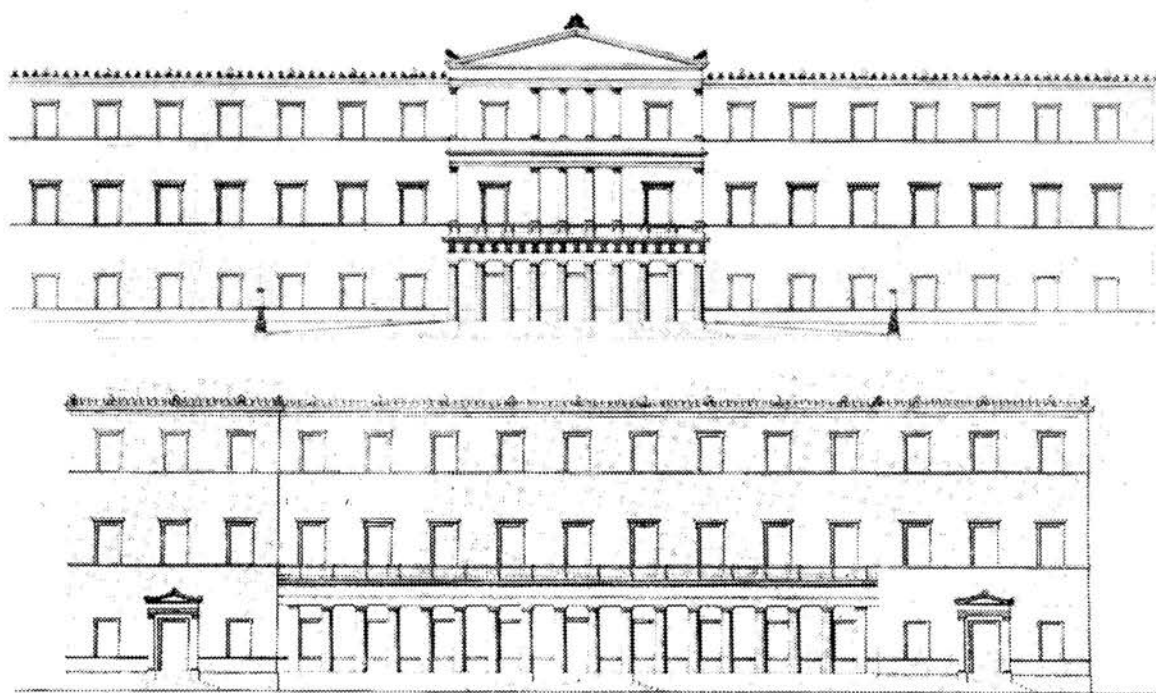
FRIEDRICH VON GÄRTNER



Pl .30. Gärtner's design for the palace, view from the royal gardens. Makriyianni, Nikolaos. *H Istoria tou Megarou ths Voulhs (The History of the Parliament House)*, Athens 1979

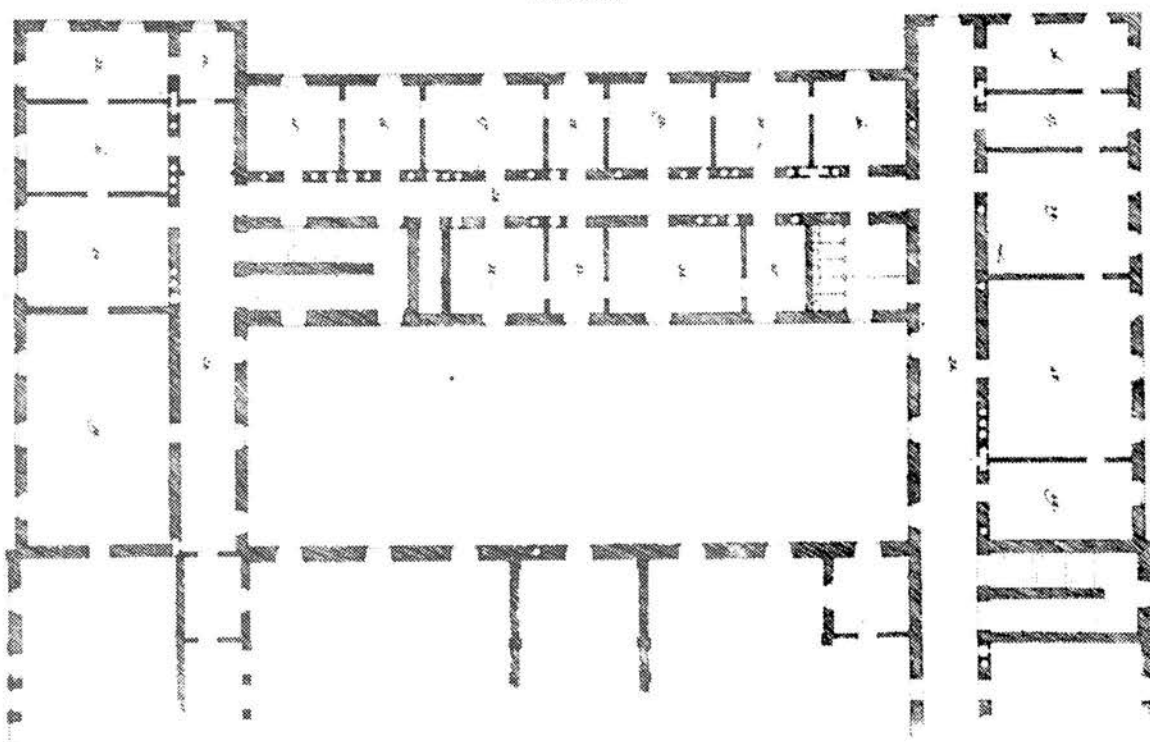


Pl. 31. The front of the palace with the balcony for public speeches as it stands today.
Personal collection of the Author, December 2002

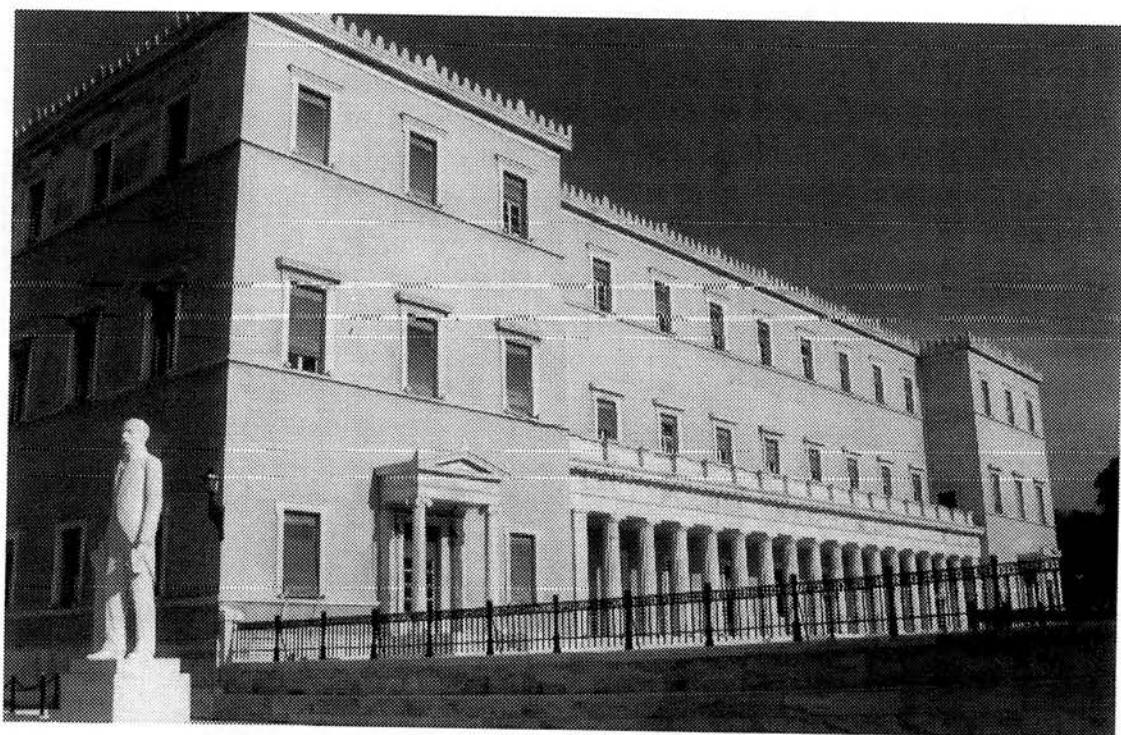


Pl. 32. Gärtner's proposal for the palace. At the top is the east side and at the bottom is the south side of the palace with the series of colonnades. Makriyianni, Nikolaos. *H Istoria tou Megarou ths Voulhs (The History of the Parliament House)*, Athens 1979

Nördlicher Flügel.
H. Noth.



Pl. 33. Gärtner, 1878. Floor plan of the ground floor. Makruiyianni, Nikolaos. *H Istoria tou Megarou ths Voulhs (The History of the Parliament House)*, Athens 1979

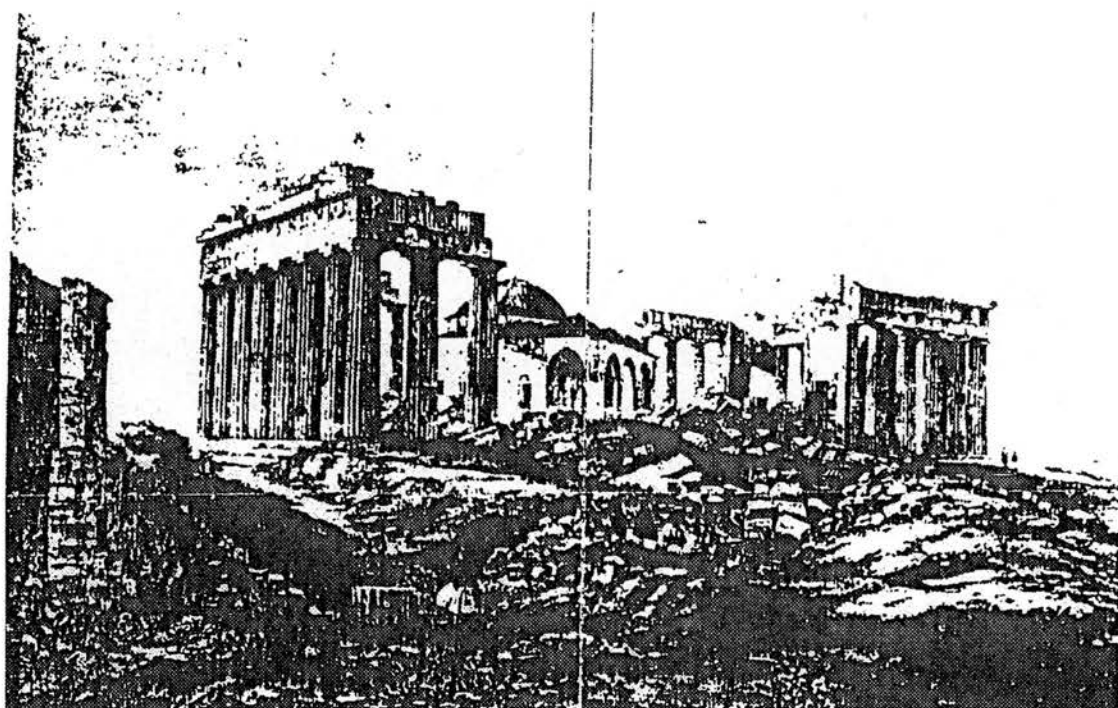


Pl. 34. The south side of Otto's palace as it stands today. Note the series of colonnades at the side of the building. Personal collection of the Author, December 2002

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM



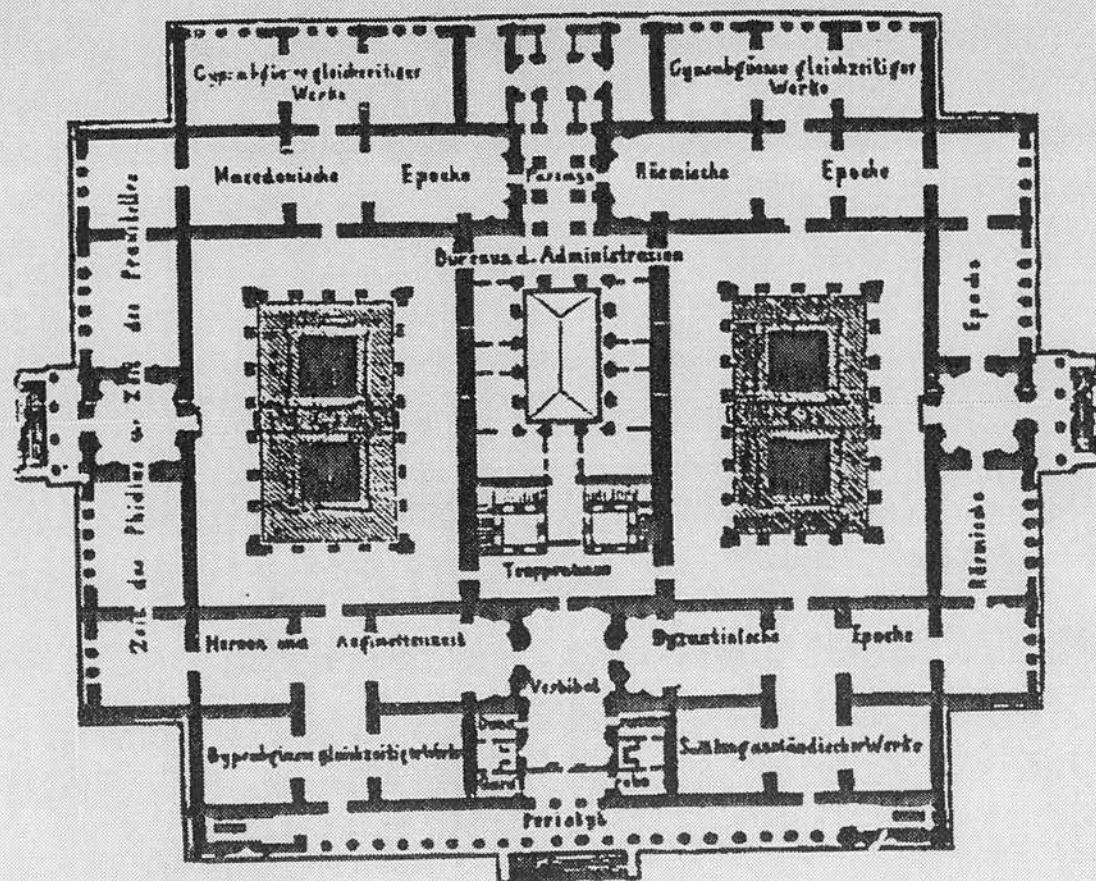
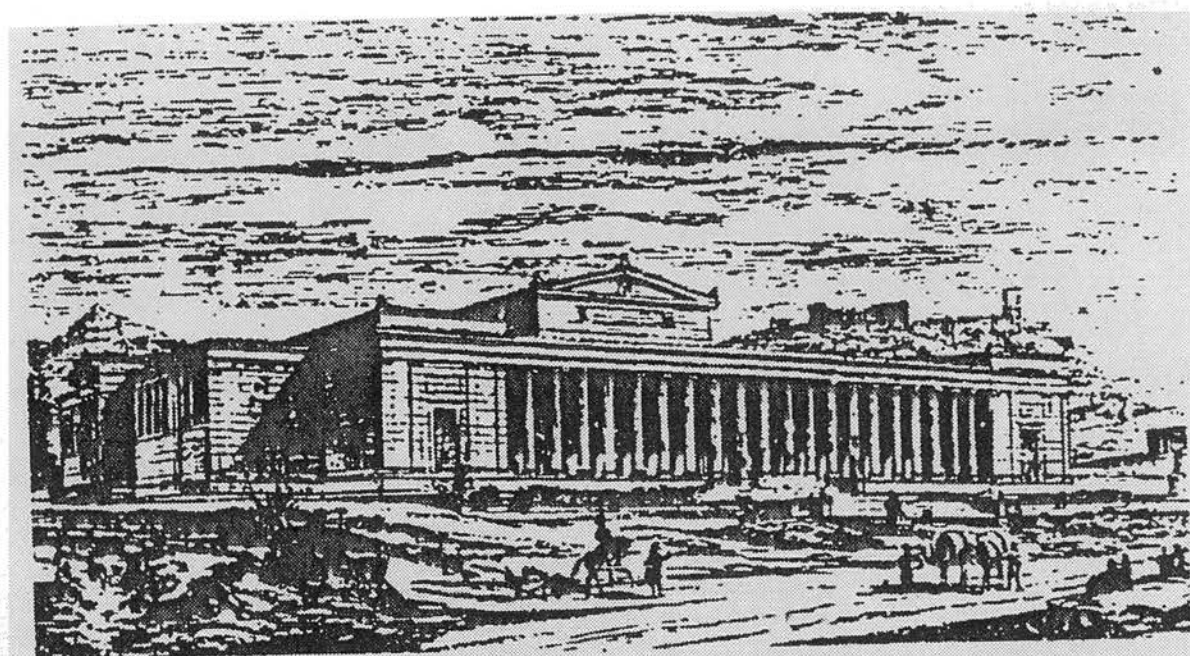
Pl. 35. Christian Hansen, The Parthenon, Perspective showing the mosque.
Copenhagen, Kunstakademiet, Bibliotek, no.14989



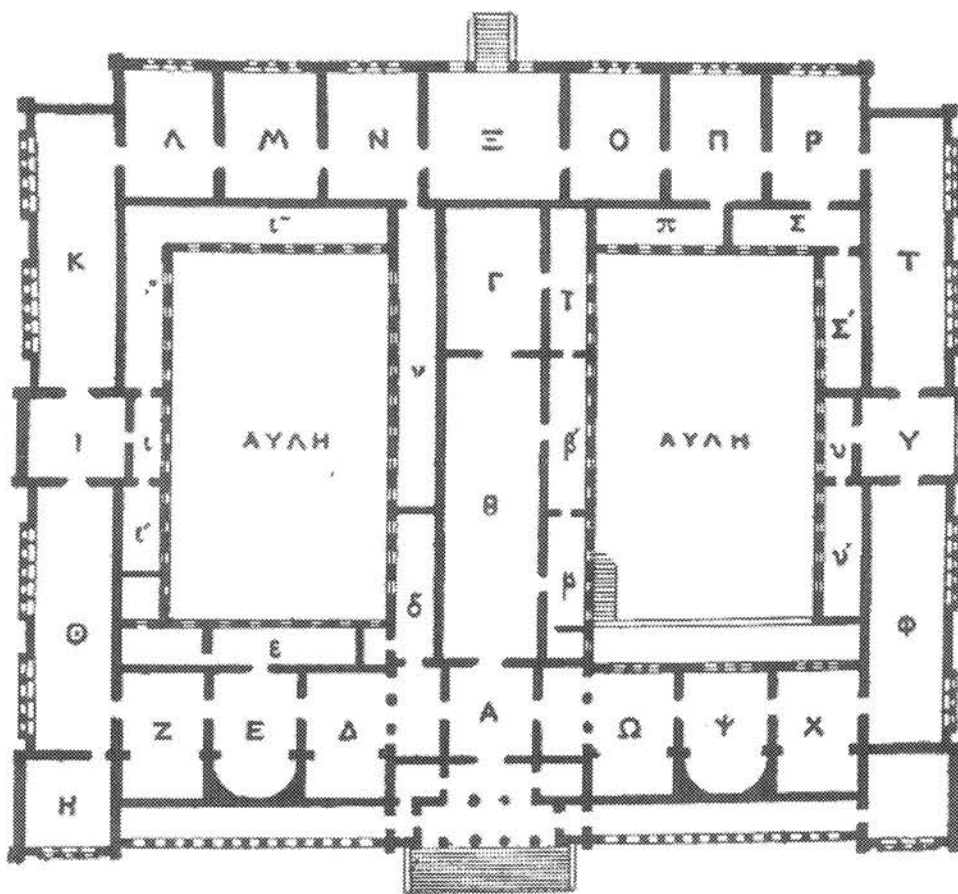
Pl. 36. The Parthenon and the mosque after the departure of the garrison. Watercolour by Hansen after 1833, Copenhagen, Kunstakademiet, Bibliotek, no.14990



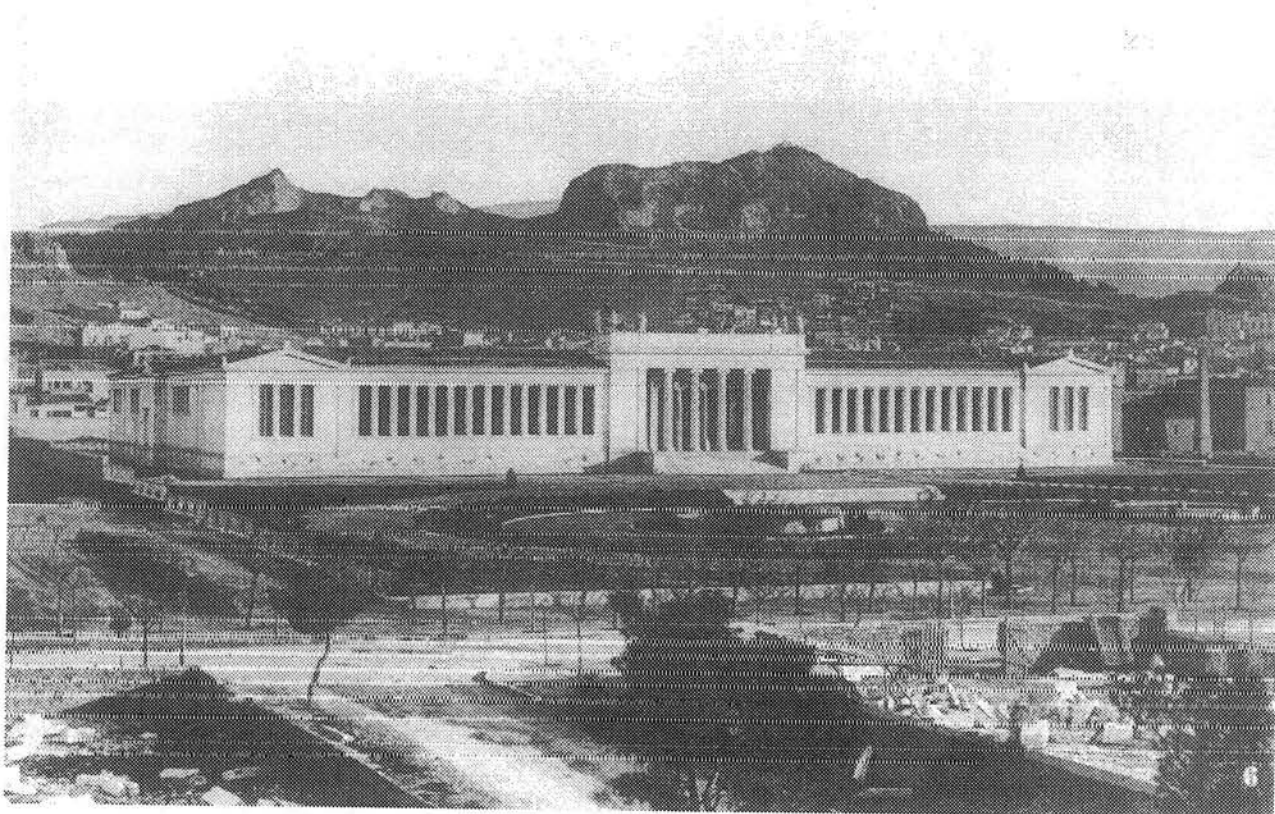
Pl. 37. The Leipzig Museum designed by Ludwig Lange in 1848. Photographic archive, Museum der bildenden Künste



Pl. 38. Ludwig Lange proposal for the Archaeological Museum, 1860. Kokkou, *Himerimna gia tis archaiotites*, 1977



Pl. 39. Panages Kalkos, 1866. Floor plan of the Archaeological Museum. Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou Aiona (Athens from the nineteenth until the twentieth centuries)*, Melissa Publications Athens, 1995



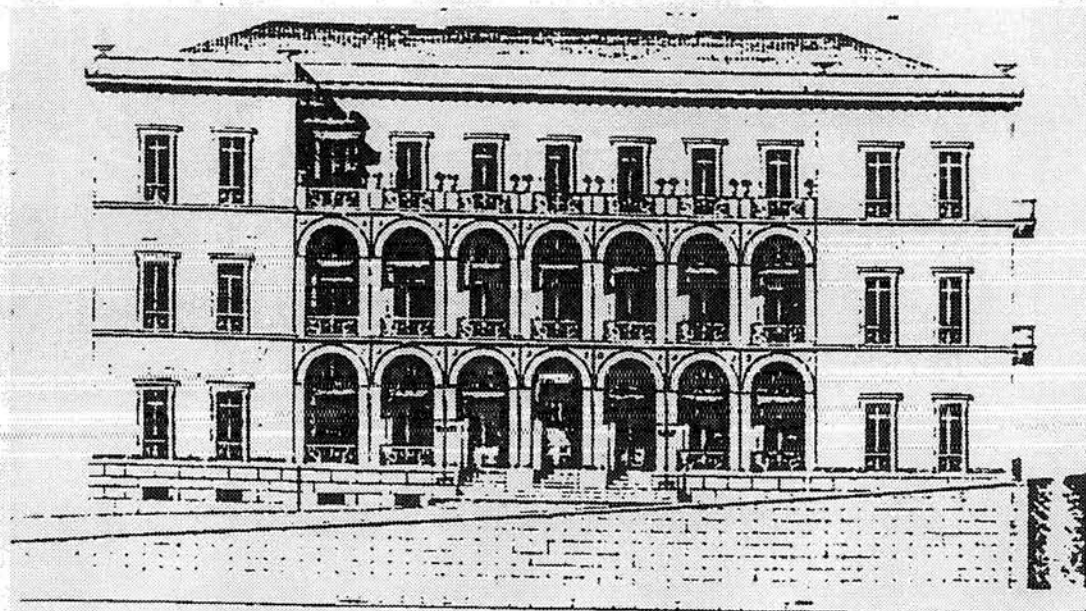
Pl. 40. The Museum after completion. Mpiris, K. *Ai Athinai apo tou 19ou os tou 20ou Aiona* (Athens from the nineteenth until the twentieth centuries), Melissa Publications Athens, 1995

THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE

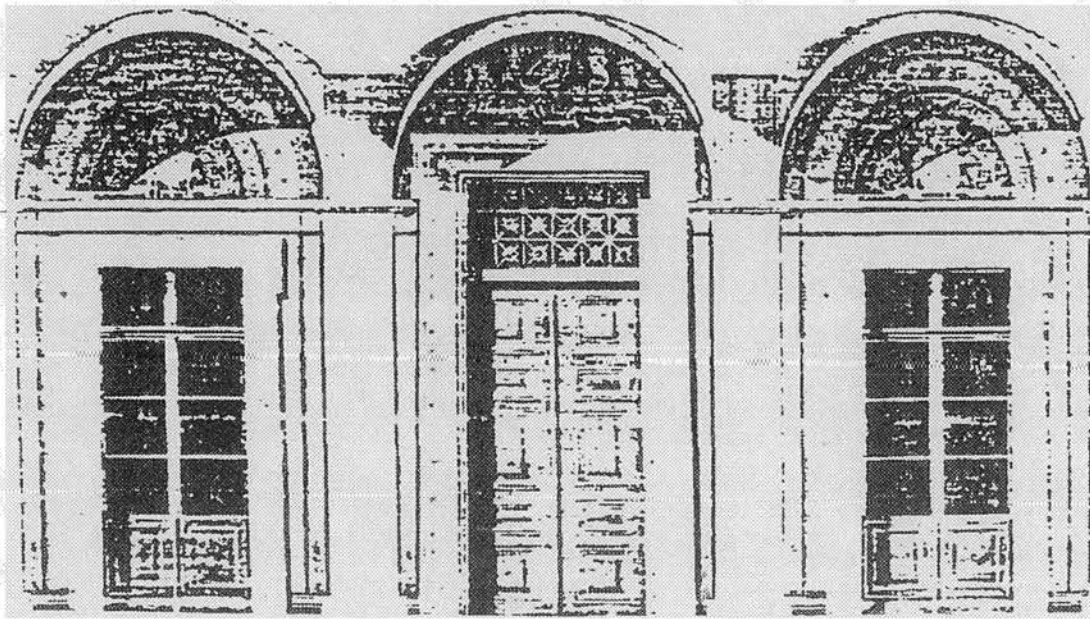
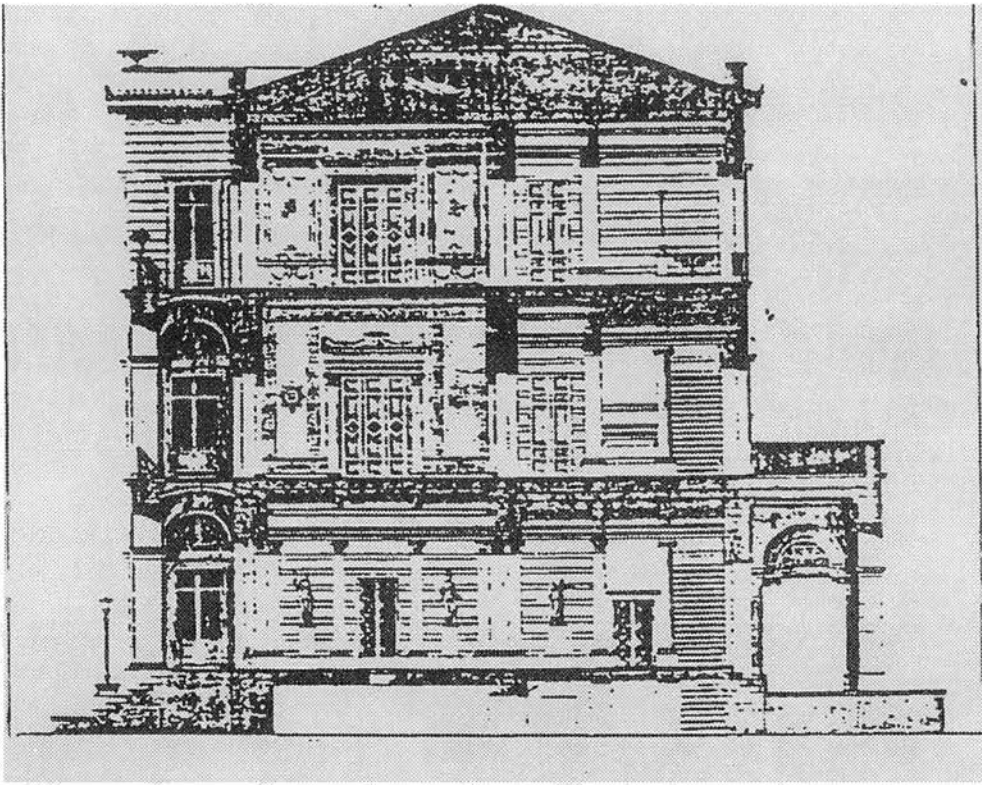


Pl. 41. The Parliament House after completion. Makriyianni, Nikolaos. *H Istoria tou Megarou ths Voulhs* (*The History of the Parliament House*), Athens 1979

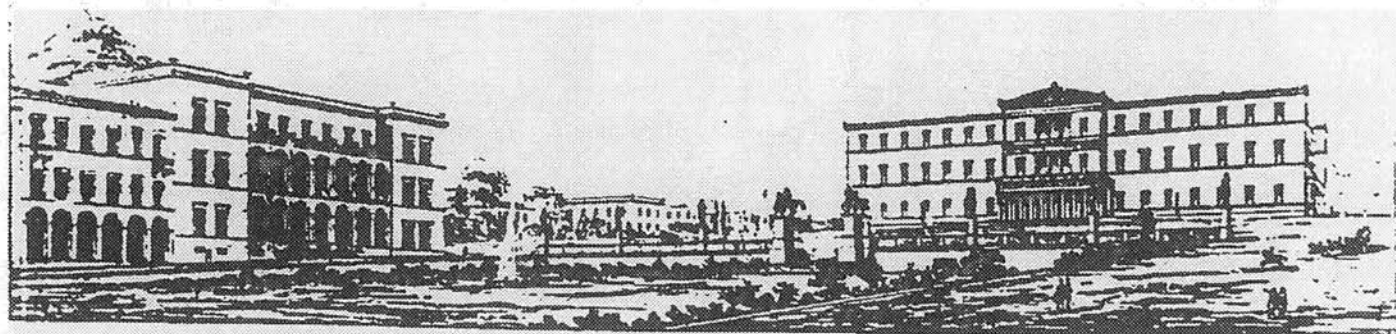
THE DEMETRIOU HOUSE



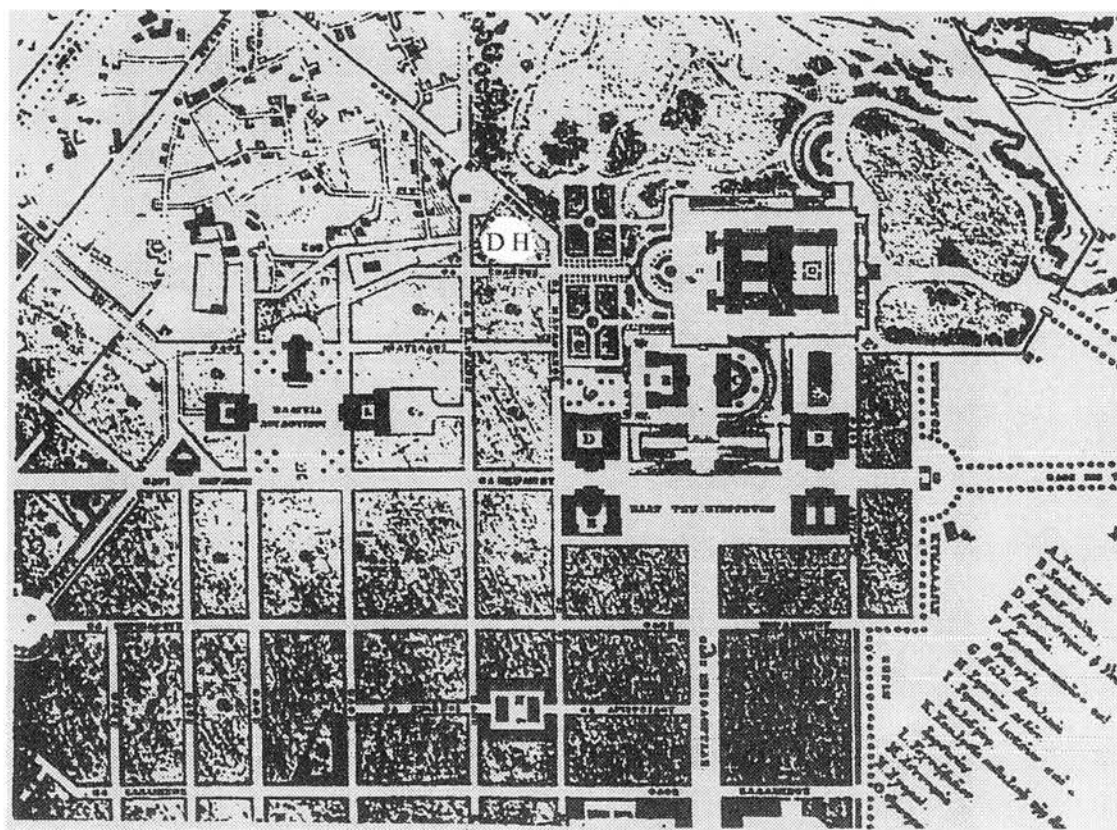
Pl. 42. The Demetriou House, front elevation by Theophil Hansen, 1842-43. Vol. 57, no. 3/4, 1987 Kunstakademiet, Copenhagen



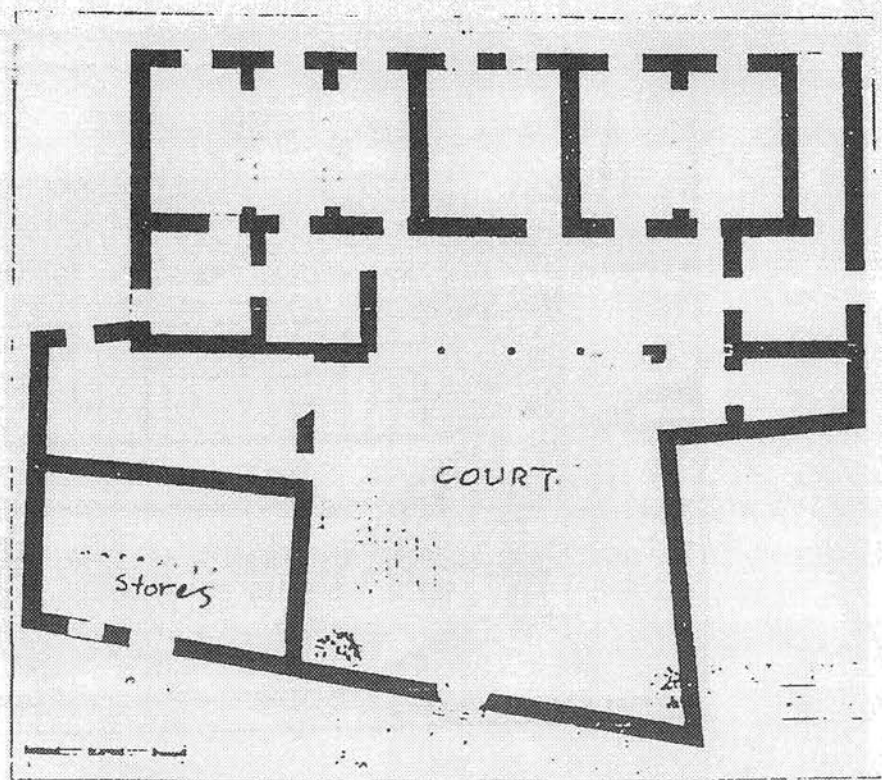
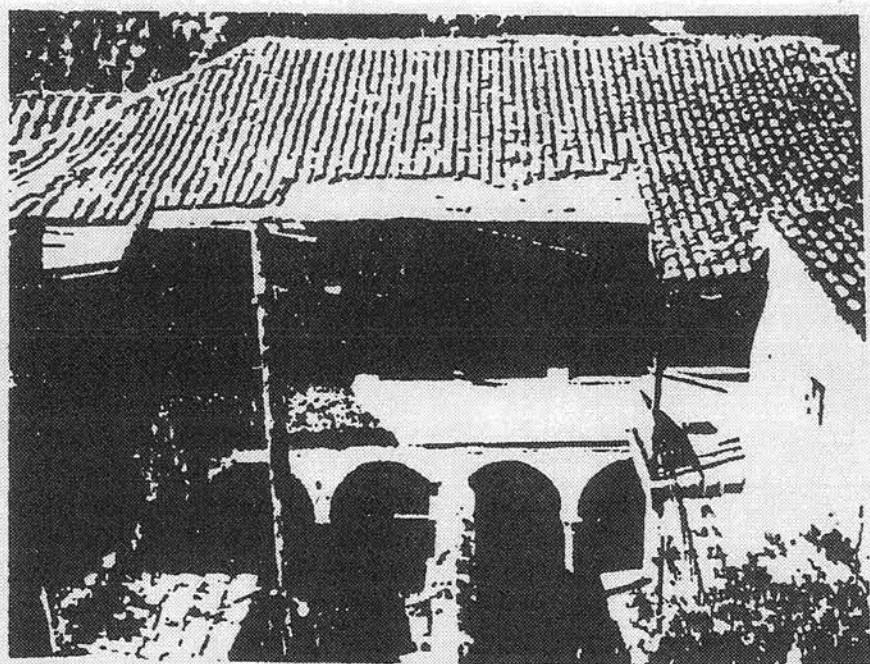
Pl. 43. The Demetriou House by Theophil Hansen, 1842-43. Top: Section of the House, Below: Detail of entrance and flanked windows. *Neoclassical Architecture in Copenhagen and Athens*, vol. 57, no. 3/4, 1987.



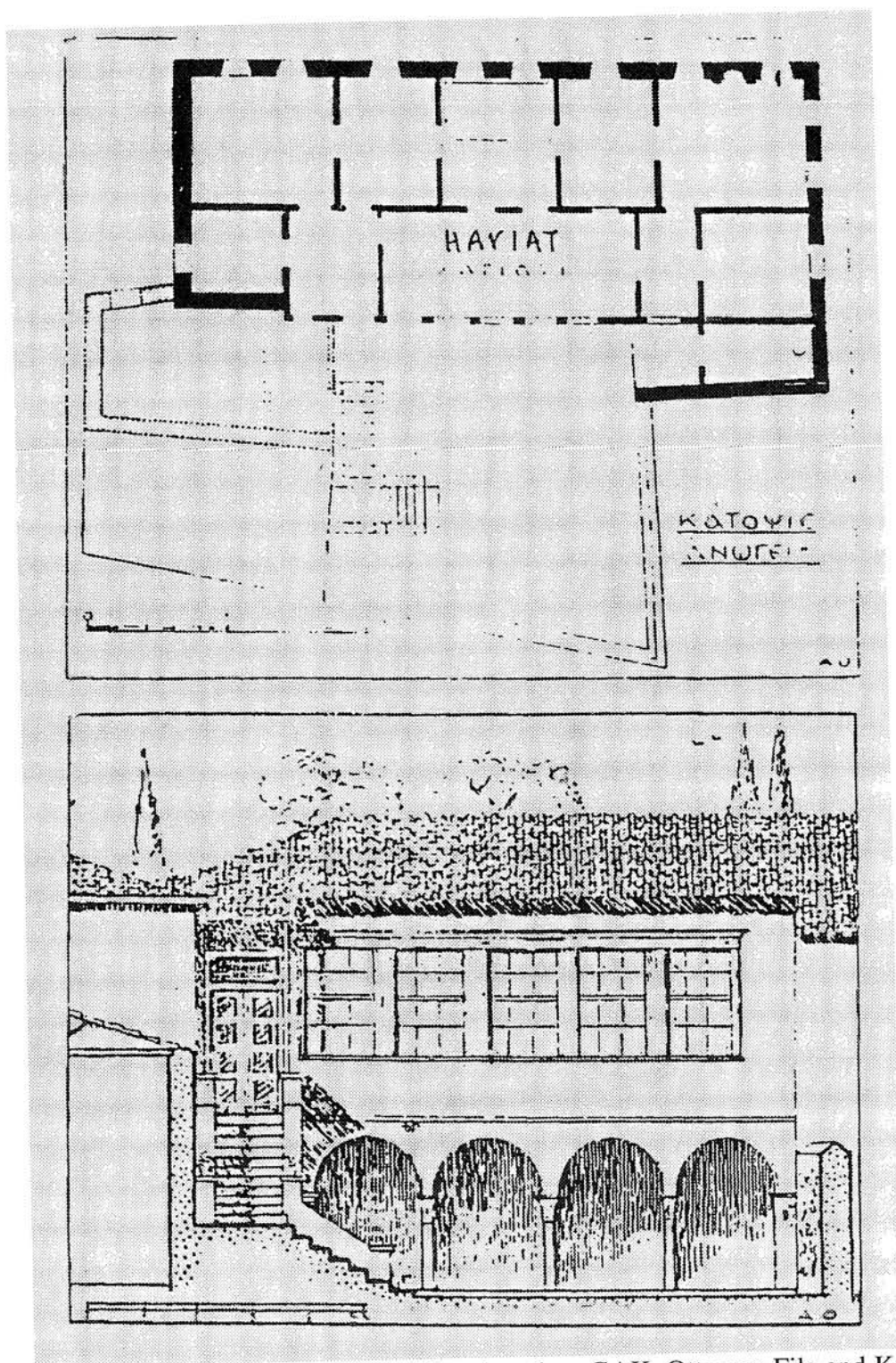
Pl. 44. To the left is the Demetriou House facing Otto's Square and to the right is Otto's palace. Vol. 57, no. 3/4, 1987 Kunstakademiet, Copenhagen.



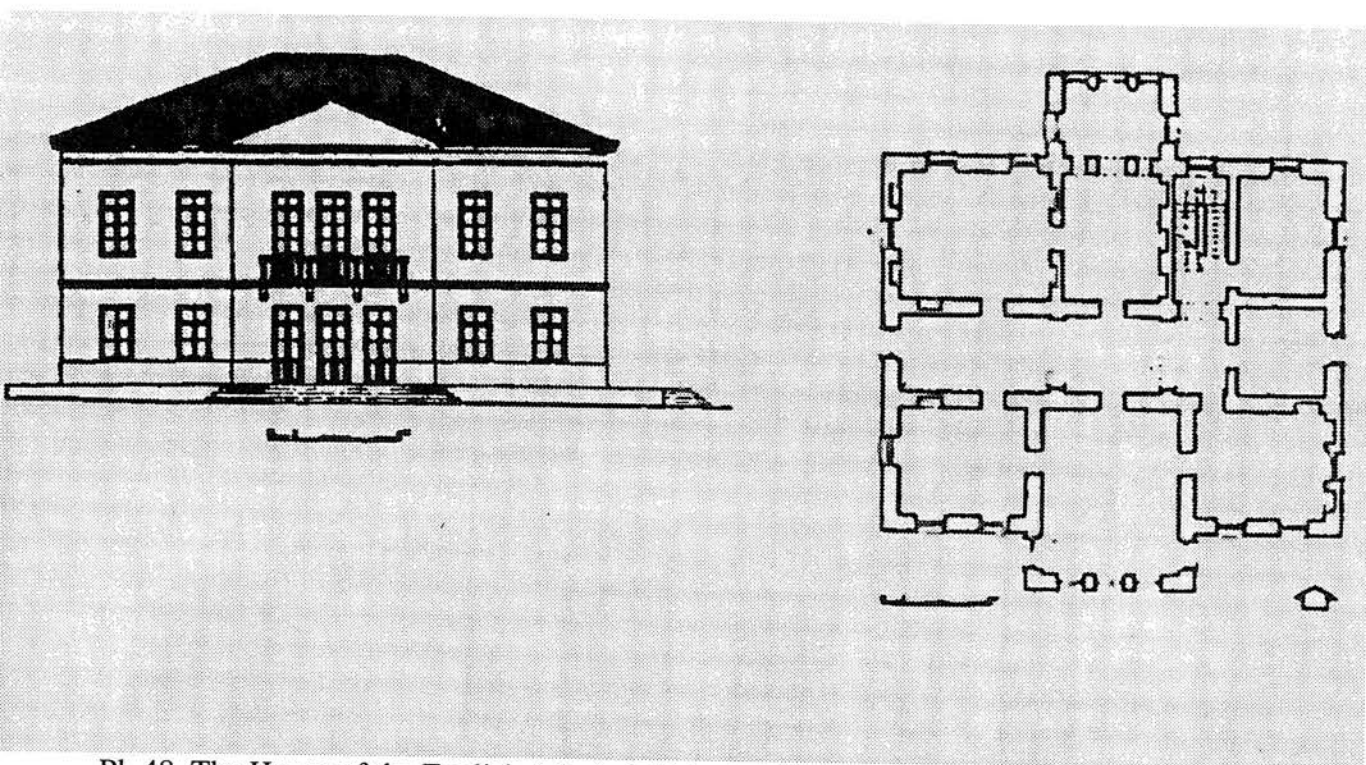
Pl. 45. The Demetriou House on Klenze's plan for New Athens. Adaptation of Russack's map, *Deutsche bauen in Athen*, 1942.



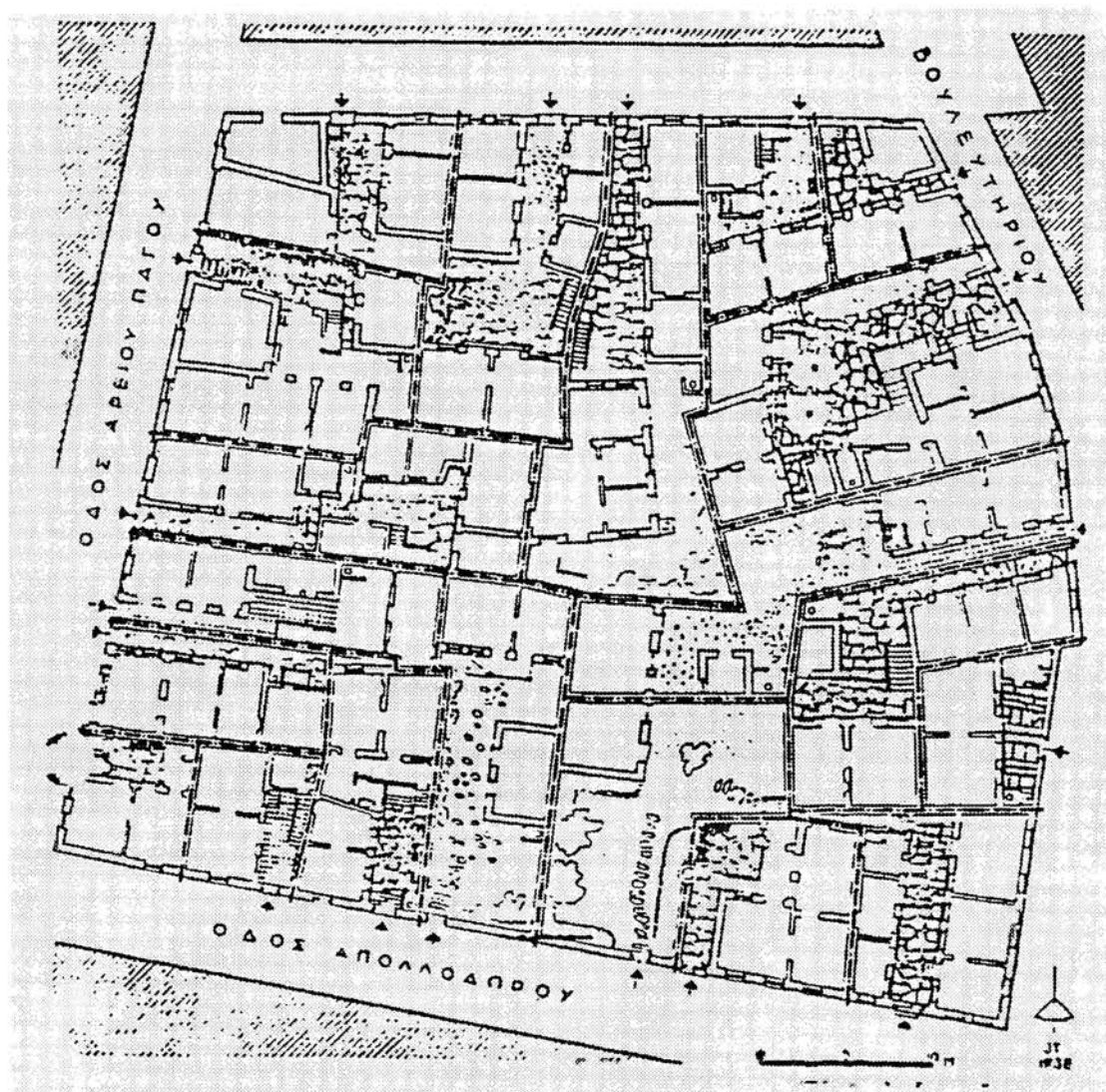
Pl. 46. View of the only surviving house of the Ottoman period on Adrianou Street with first floor plan. GAK, Ottoman File and Kokkou, *Ta Prota Spitia*, Archaeologia, no. 2, 1982.



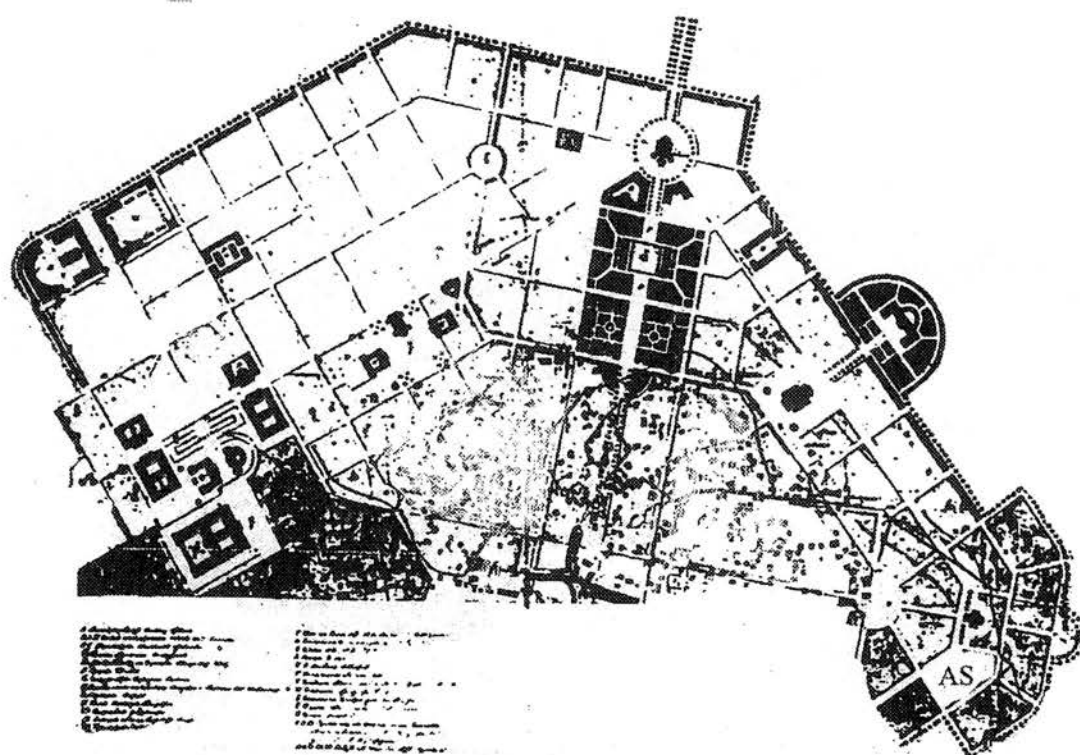
Pl. 47. Second floor plan and interior elevation. GAK, Ottoman File and Kokkou, *Ta Prota Spitia*, Archaeologia, no. 2, 1982.



Pl. 48. The House of the English Admiral Malcolm, designed by Kleanthis and Schaubert. Fountoulaki, *Stamatios Kleanthis*, 1979.

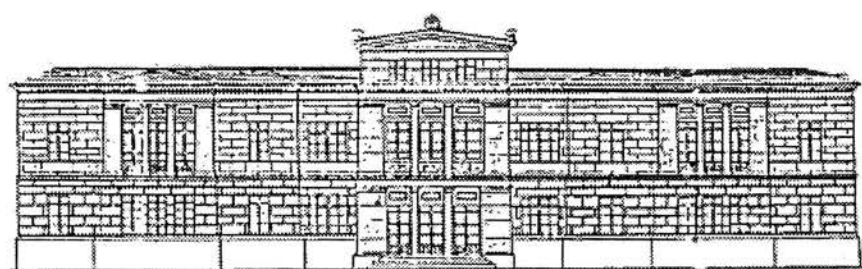


Pl. 49. Plans of houses of a complete building block located on the northern side of the Acropolis hill which had to be demolished for the excavations of the Roman Agora. Notice the relative regularity of the facades of buildings juxtaposed with the interior of the block and the irregularity of Ottoman building. Travlos, *Poleodomiki Exelisis ton Athhnon*, 1960.

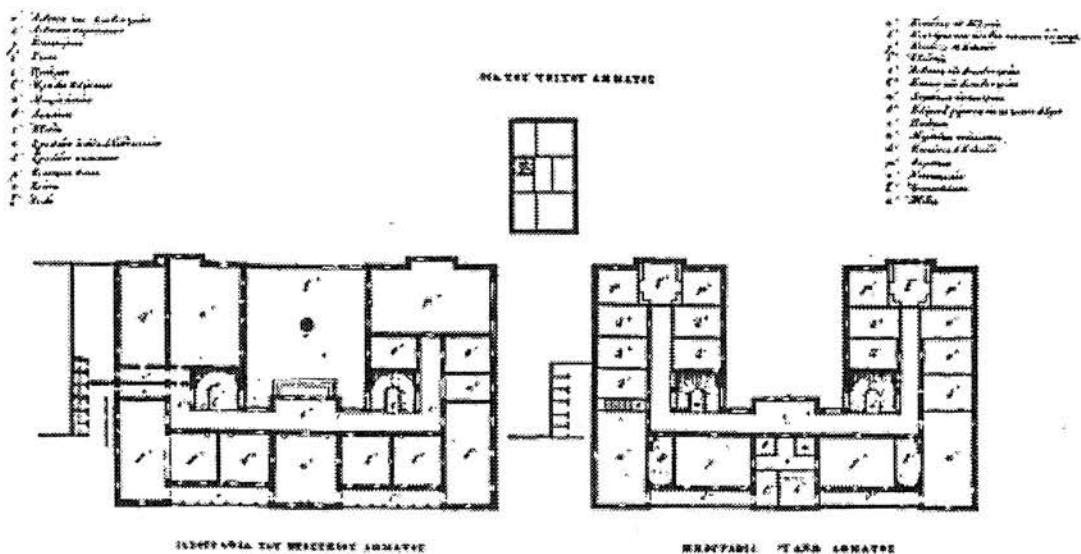


Pl. 50. The Arsakeion School on Klenze's plan for Athens. Adaptation from Stadtmuseum, Munich

ΝΗΠΙΑΚΟΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΕΙΟΝ



Pl. 51. Stamatios Kleanthis, Proposal for the Arsakeion School, façade. GAK, file 23502, Ministry of Planning



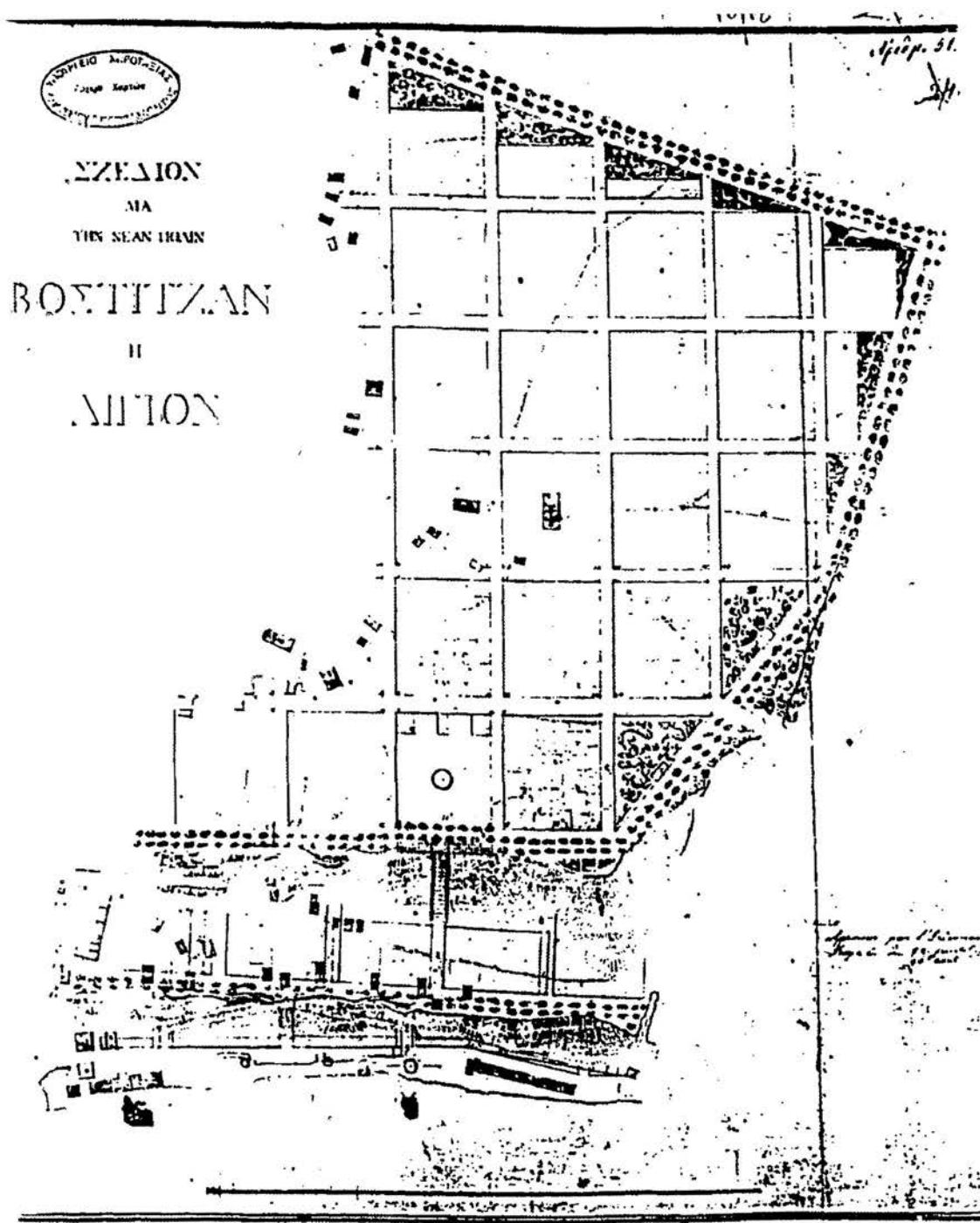
Pl. 52. Stamatios Kleanthis, Proposal for the Arsakeion School, façade. GAK, file 23502, Ministry of Planning

CHAPTER THREE

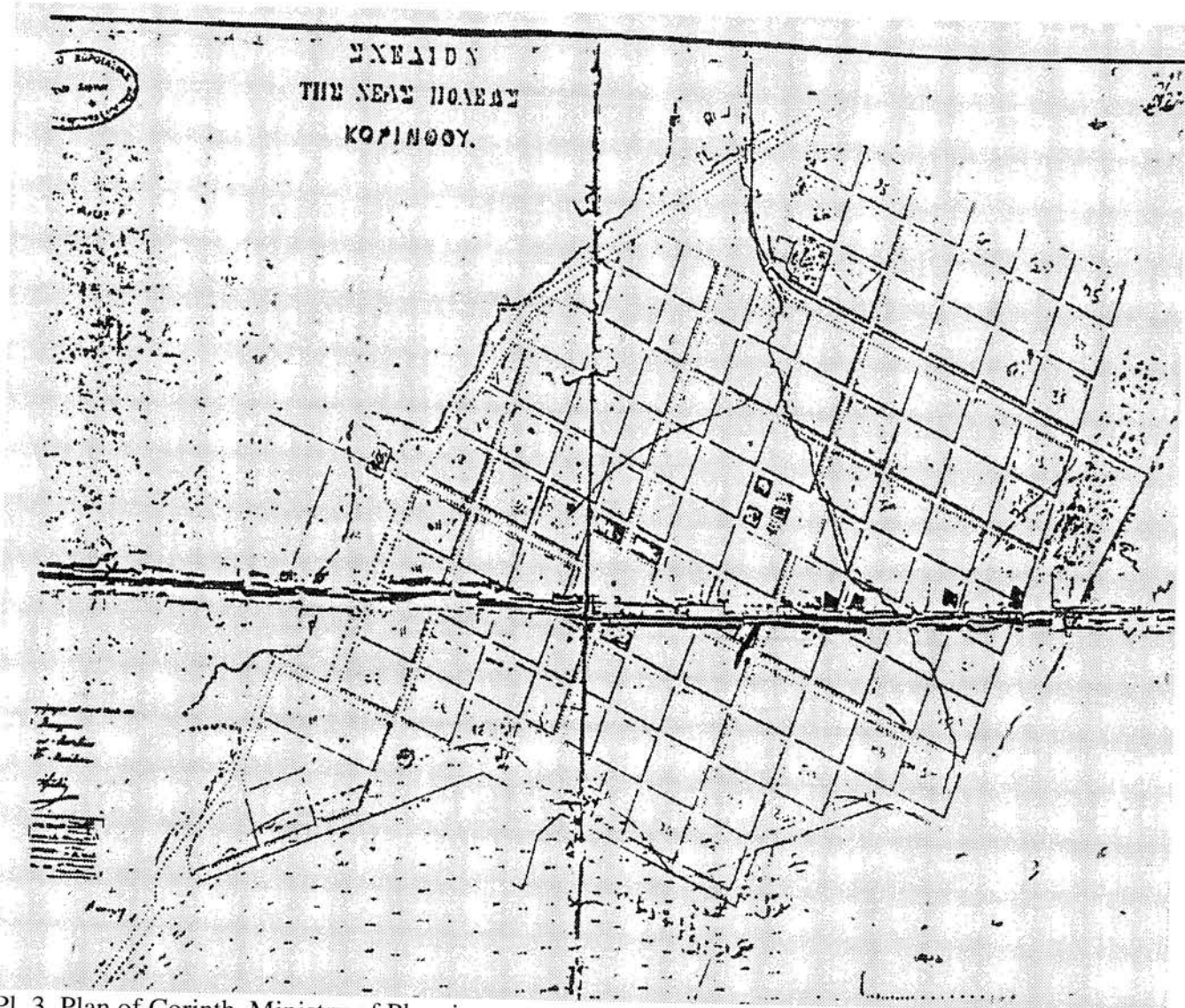
ILLUSTRATIONS



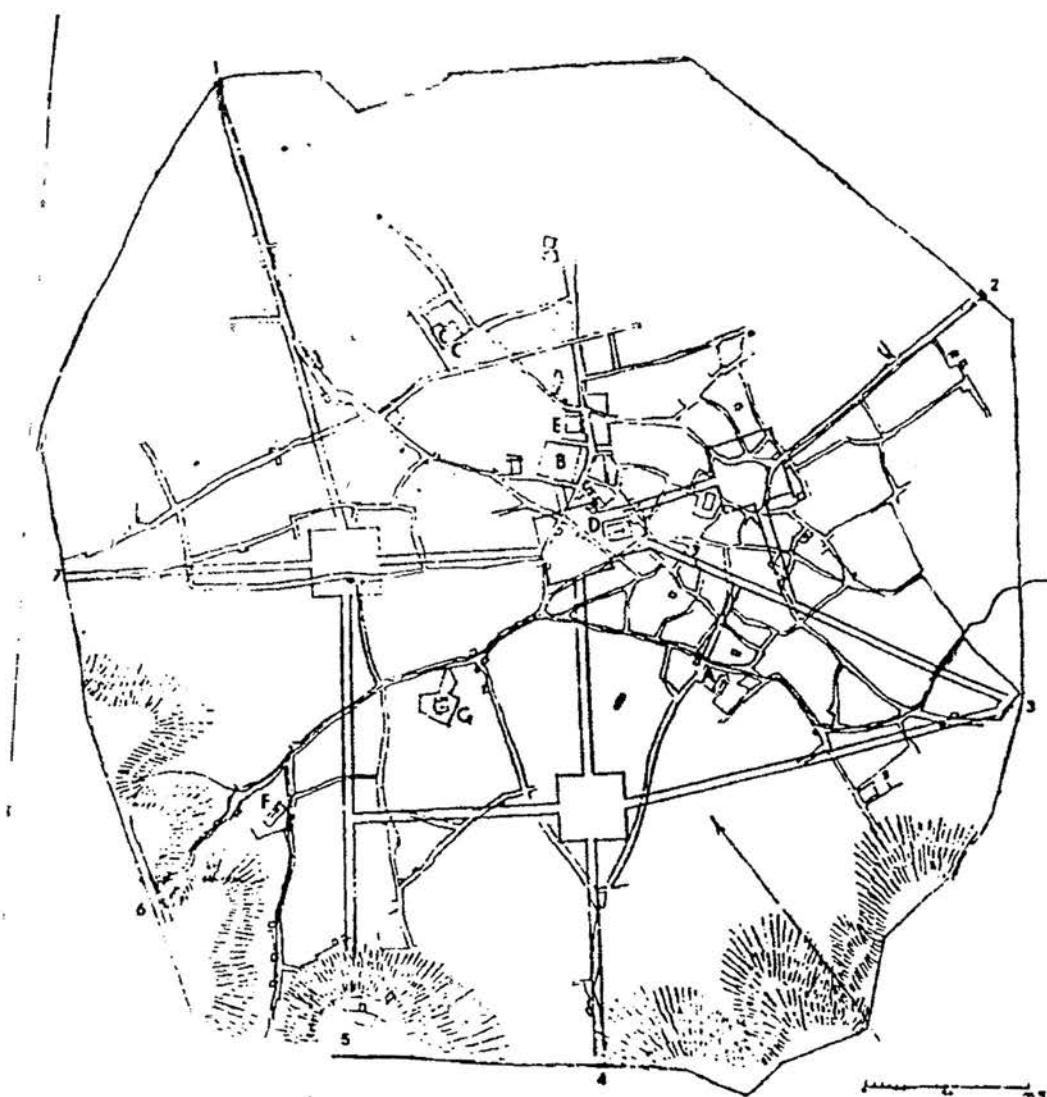
Pl. 1. Map of Greece. Shading indicates extent of Greece during Otto's reign. Independent Greece consisted of Morea, Rumely (Mainland Greece) and several Aegean islands. Bastea, Eleni, *The Creation of Modern Athens*.



Pl. 2. Plan of Vostitsa or Aigion. Dated 22 July/ 30 August 1834. Ministry of Planning, Department of Mapping, plan no. 51.



Pl. 3. Plan of Corinth. Ministry of Planning.

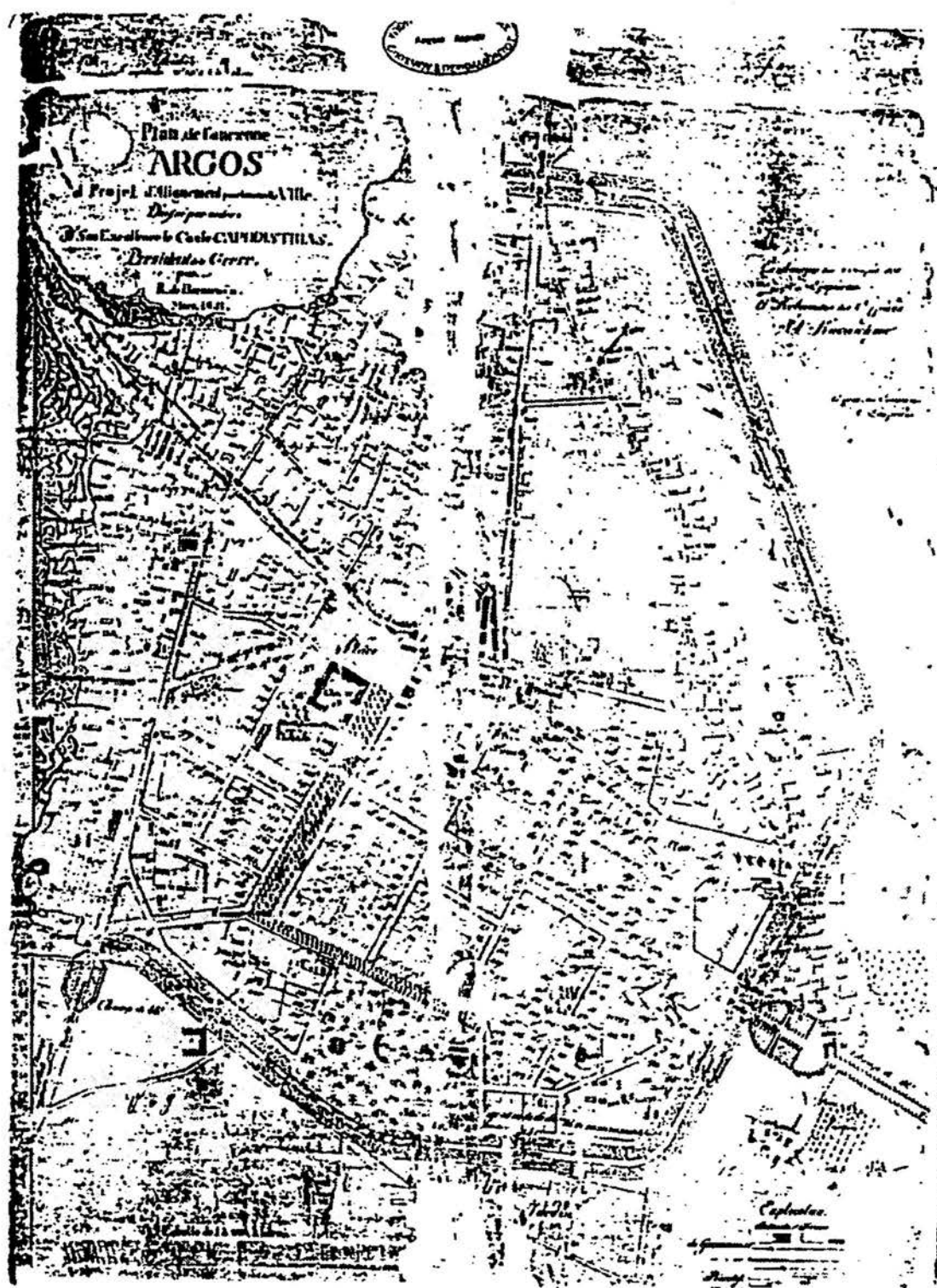


- Το σχέδιο Garnot-Βούλγαρη (1828) (αντιγραφή).
- | | |
|---|--|
| A. Ἁγ. Δημήτριος Church of St. Demetrios | E. τζαμί mosque |
| B. χάνι chan | F. εκκλησία των Αγγέλων church of the Angels |
| C. τζαμί mosque | G. εκκλησία (τζαμί) church (mosque) |
| D. Ἁγ. Βασίλειος (τζαμί) St. Basil (mosque) | 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, πύλες του τείχους gates of the walls. |

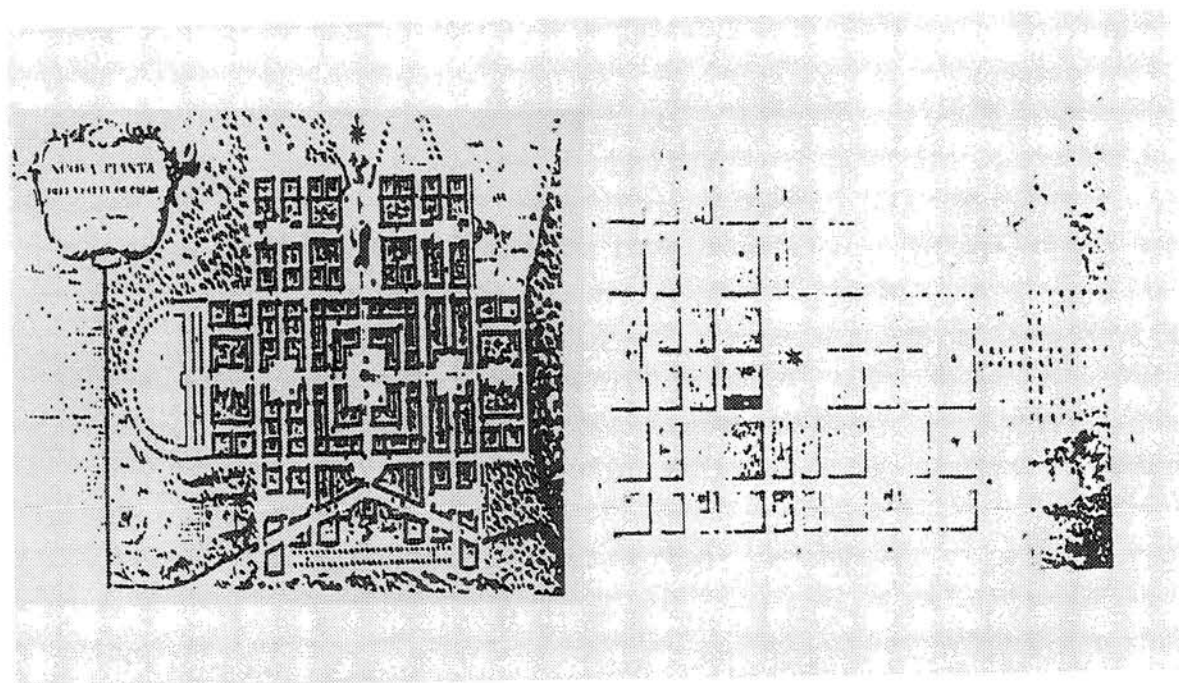
Pl. 4. Proposal for Tripolis by Garnot and Bulgari dated 1828. The plan was redrawn by Tsakopoulos, *Neoellhnikh Polh*, (Neoclassical Town, vol. 1).



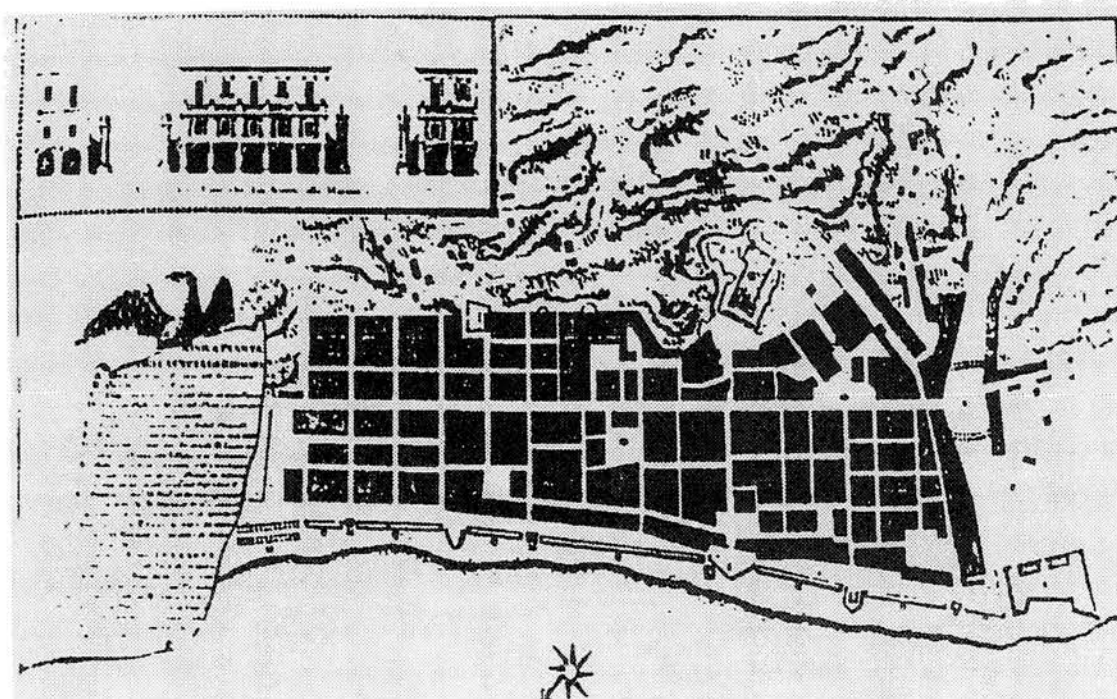
Pl. 5. View of Nauplion showing houses with *sahnışin*. Drawing by L. Lange c. 1834, Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens*.



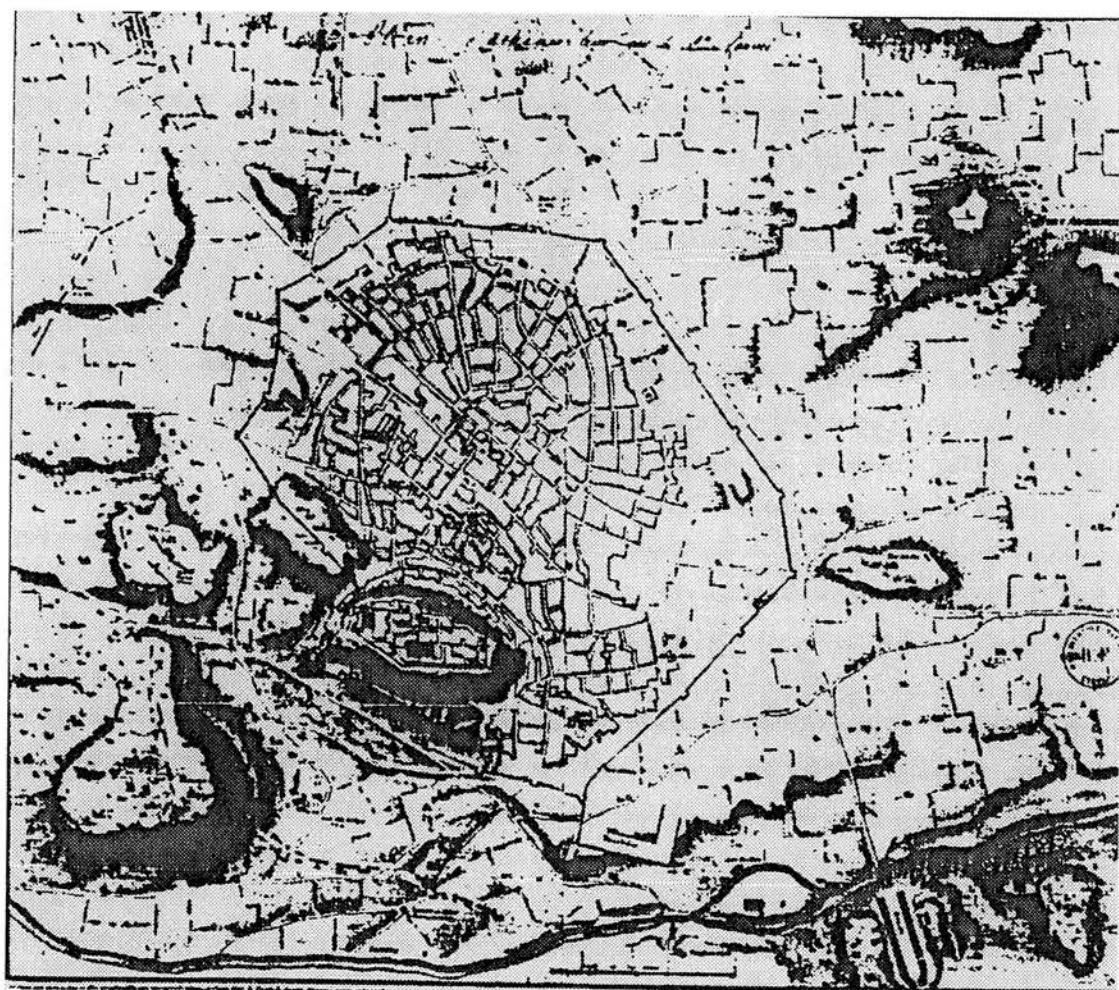
Pl. 6. Plan of Argos dated 1831. Signed Rudolph de Borroczi. Ministry of Planning, plan no. 56.



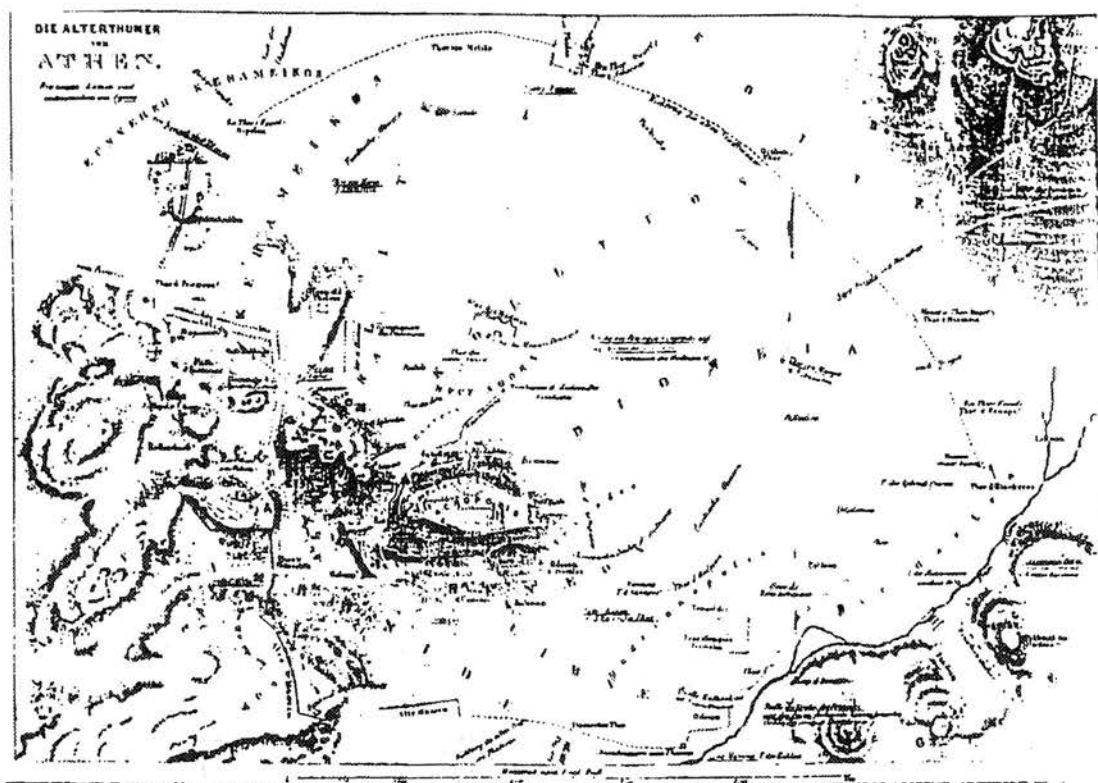
Pl. 7. Plan of Calabria.
Left: New Plan of Palmi. Right: New Plan of Mileto.
Sica, *Storia dell' urbanistica, Il Settecento*, 1979



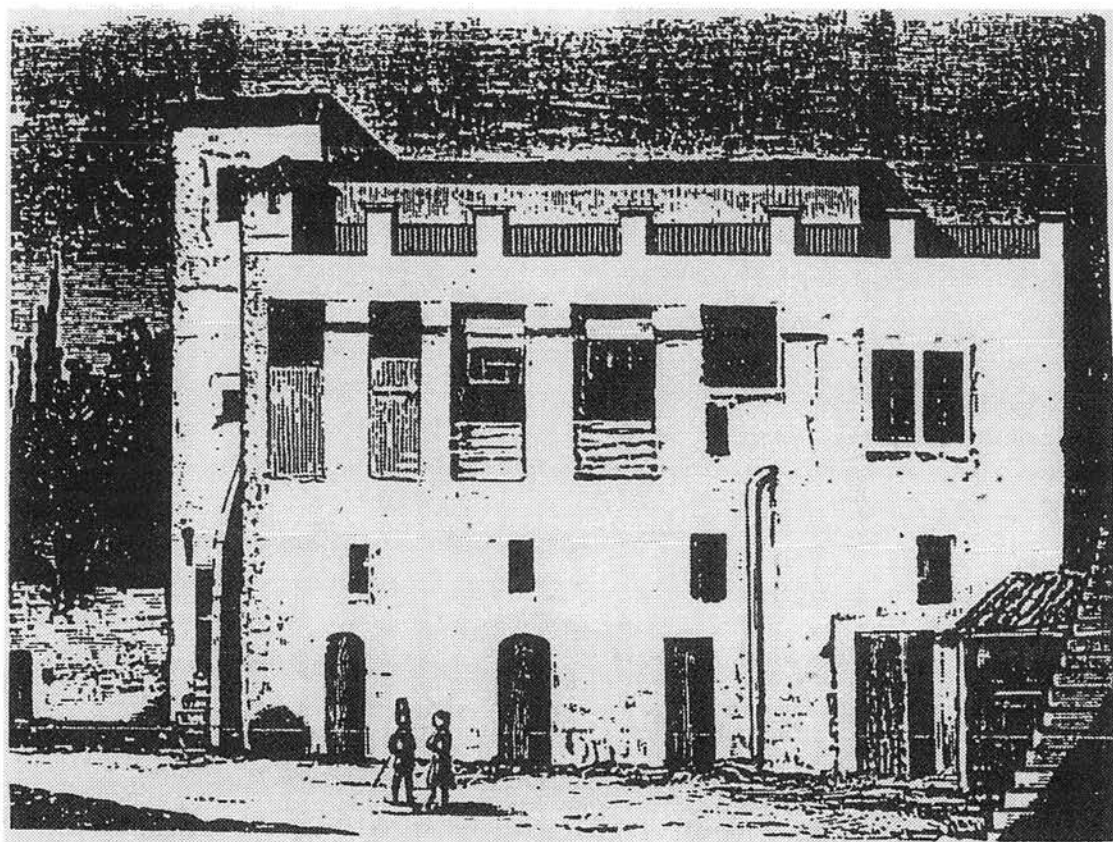
Pl. 8. Plan of Calabria after the earthquake of 1783. Sica, *Storia dell' urbanistica, Il Settecento*, 1979.



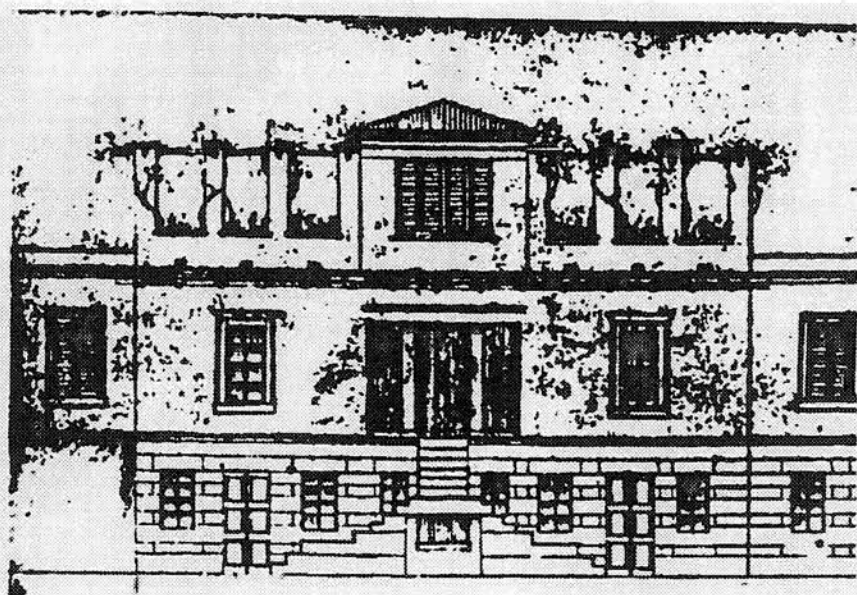
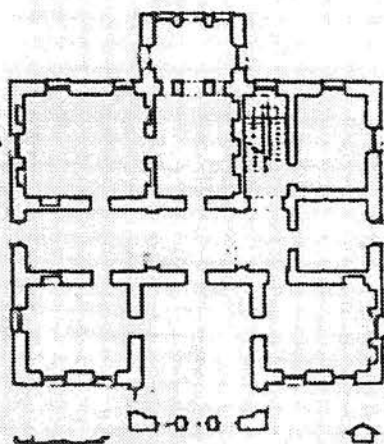
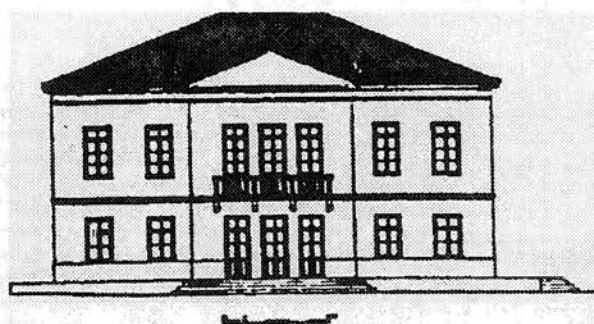
Pl. 9. Map of Athens 1780. This plan was reconstructed by Travlos, *Poleodomiki*. The copy of the original map by Fauvel is kept in Gennadeion Library, Athens



Pl. 10. Archaeological Map of Athens. Leake, *Topographie Athens*, 2nd Ed. Zurich, 1844

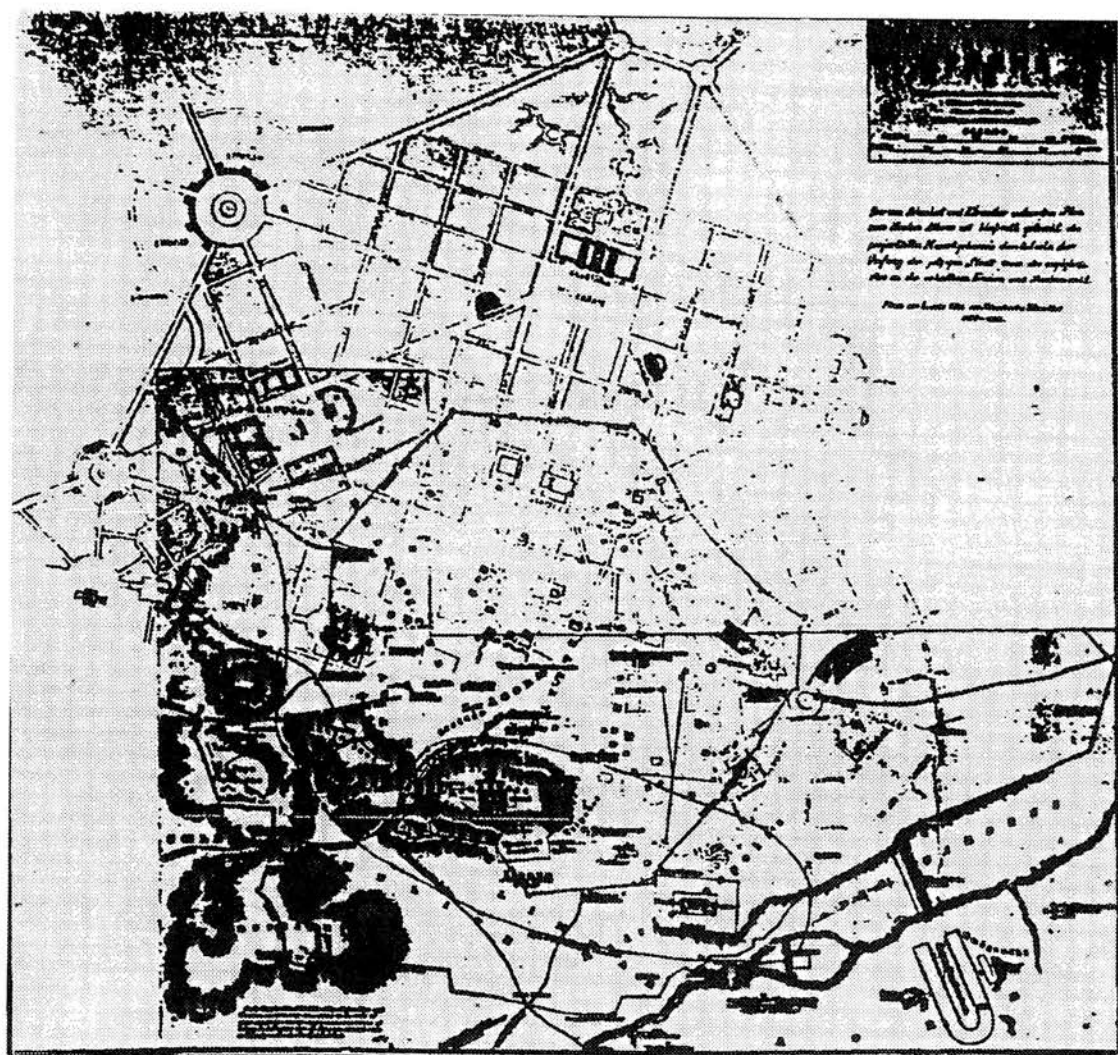


Pl. 11. Kleanthis' and Schaubert's residence. Mpiris, *Ai Athinai* (Athens)



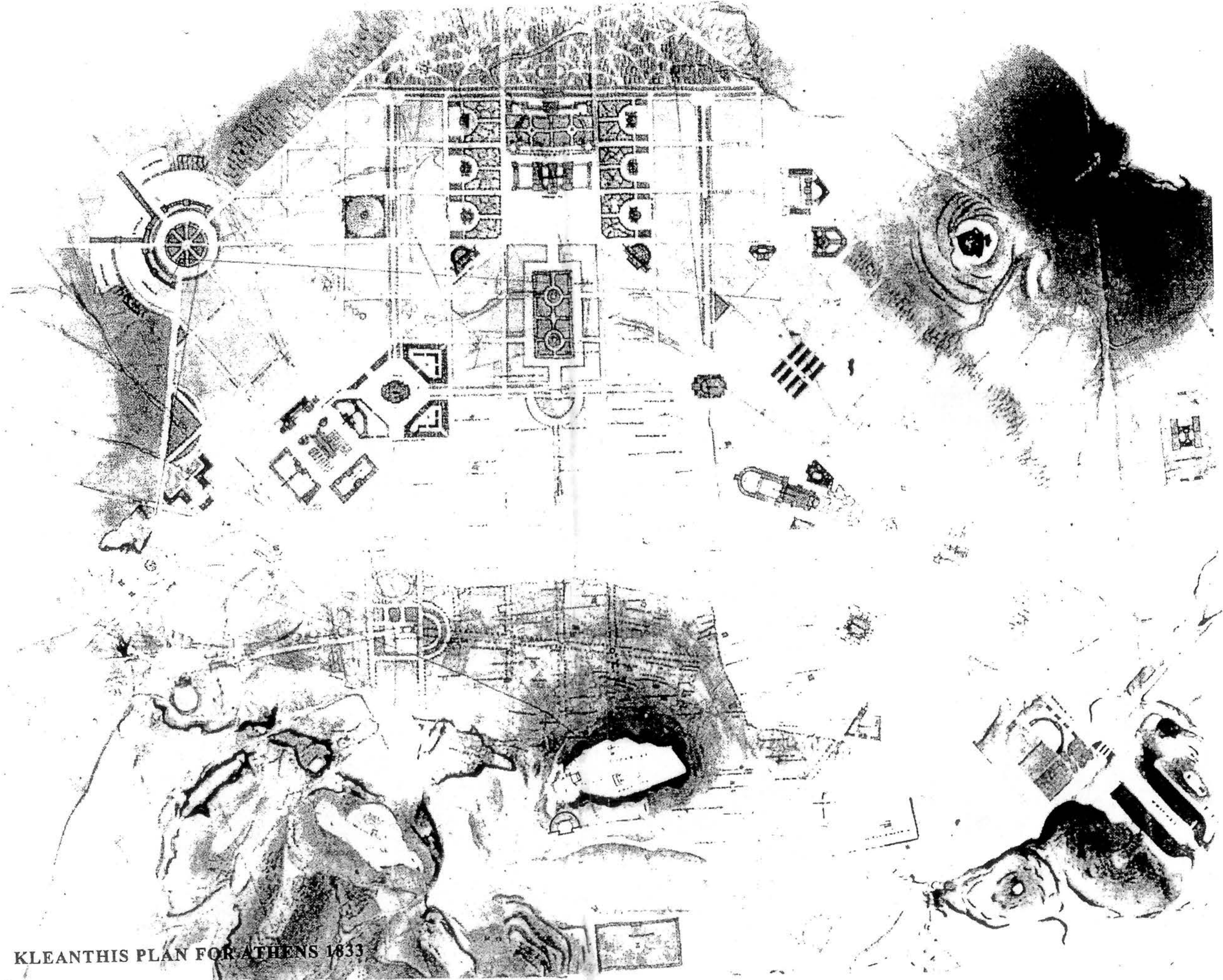
Pl. 12. Top: The House of English Admiral Malcolm, designed by Kleanthis and Schaubert. Fountoulaki, *Stamatios Kleanthis*.

Pl. 13. Below: The House of Austrian Consul Georg Christian Gropius, designed by Kleanthis and Schaubert. Fountoulaki, *Stamatios Kleanthis*.

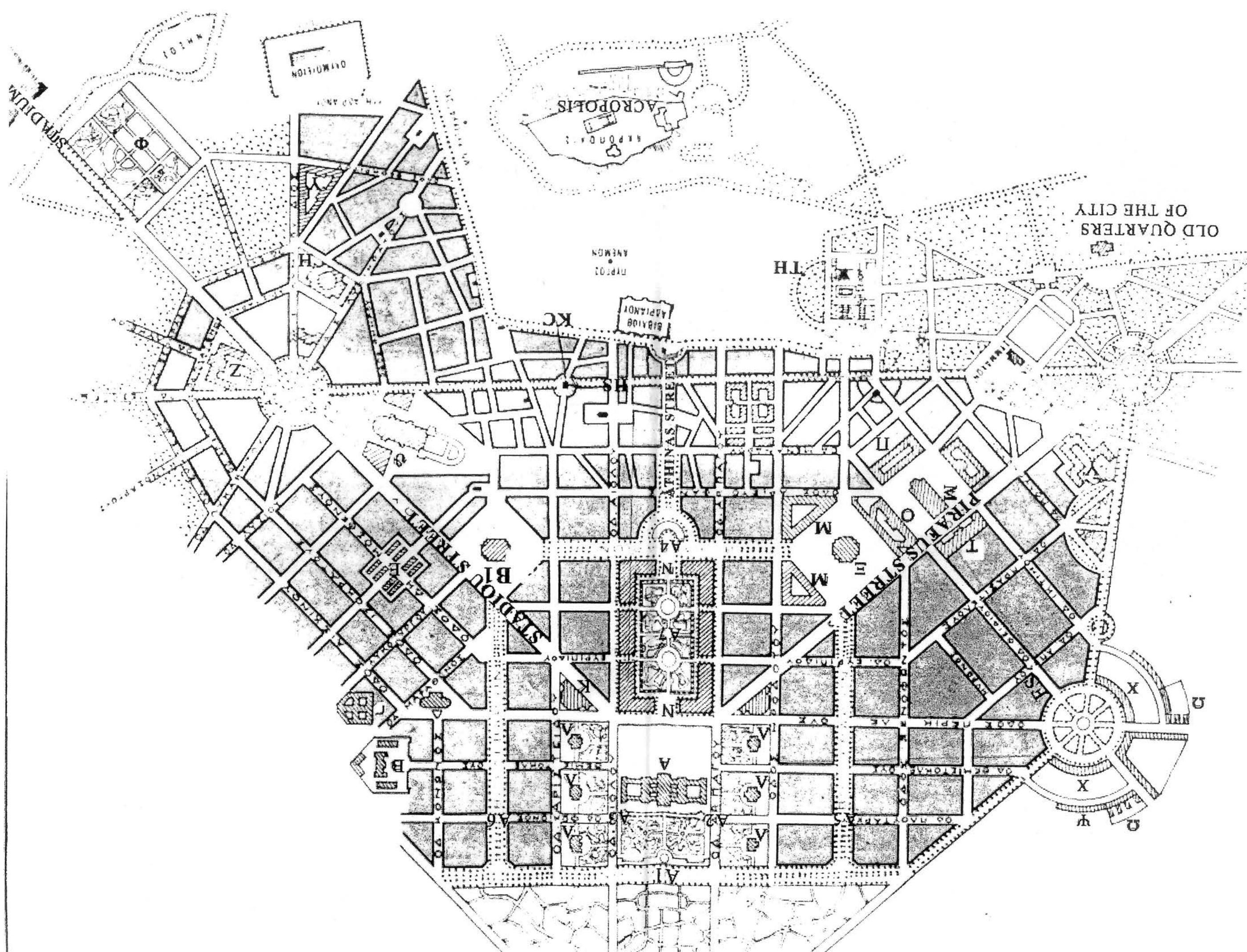


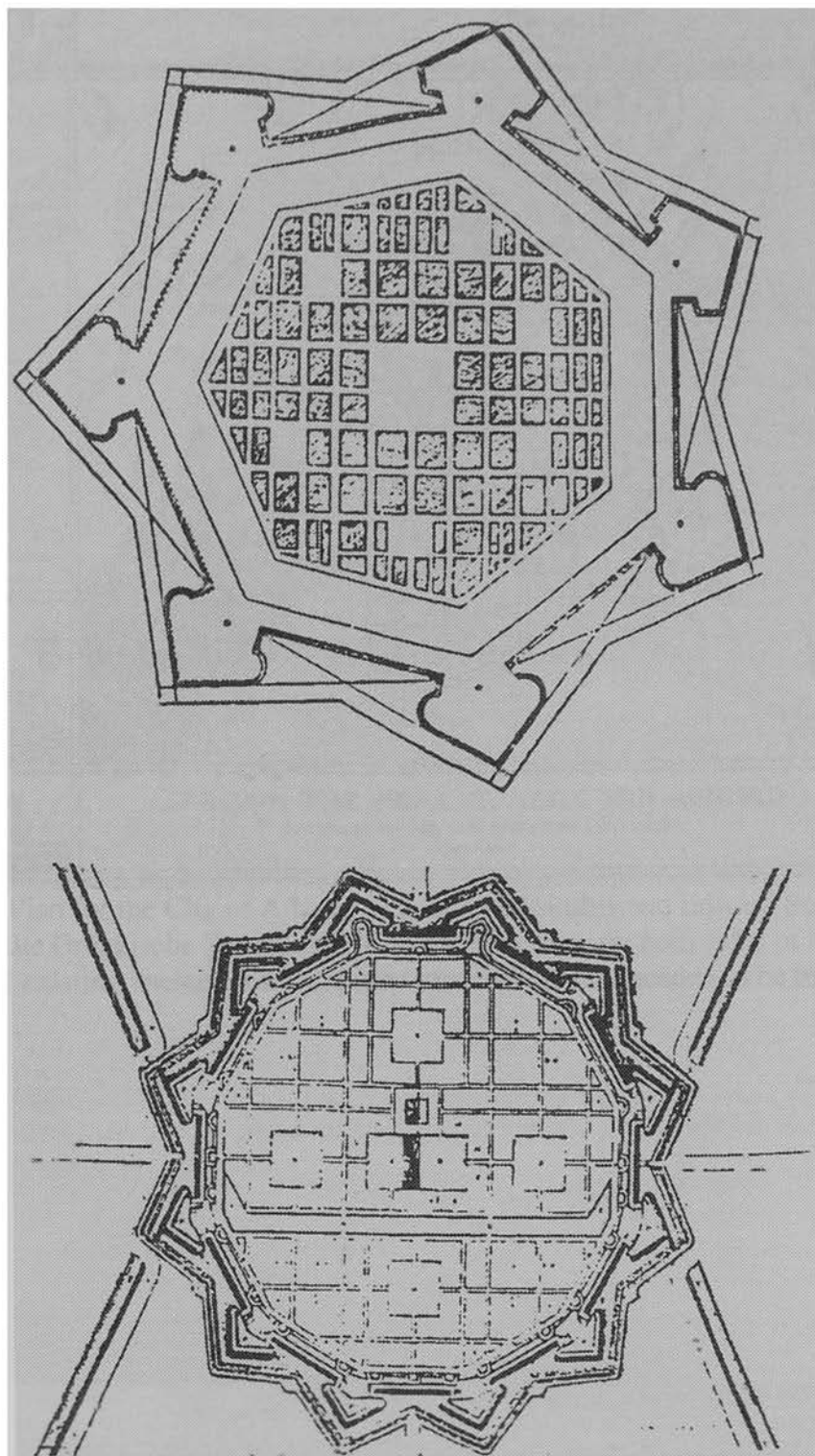
Pl. 14. Plan for the New City of Athens. Signed Stamatios Kleanthis and Edward Schaubert, 1833. Potsdam-Sanssouci, *Staatl. Schlösser und Gärten*.

Pl.15. Plan for the City of Athens. All public buildings, main avenues and squares have been identified on the plan. Stamatios Kleanthis and Edward Schaubert, 1833. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.



KLEANTHIS PLAN FOR ATHENS 1833

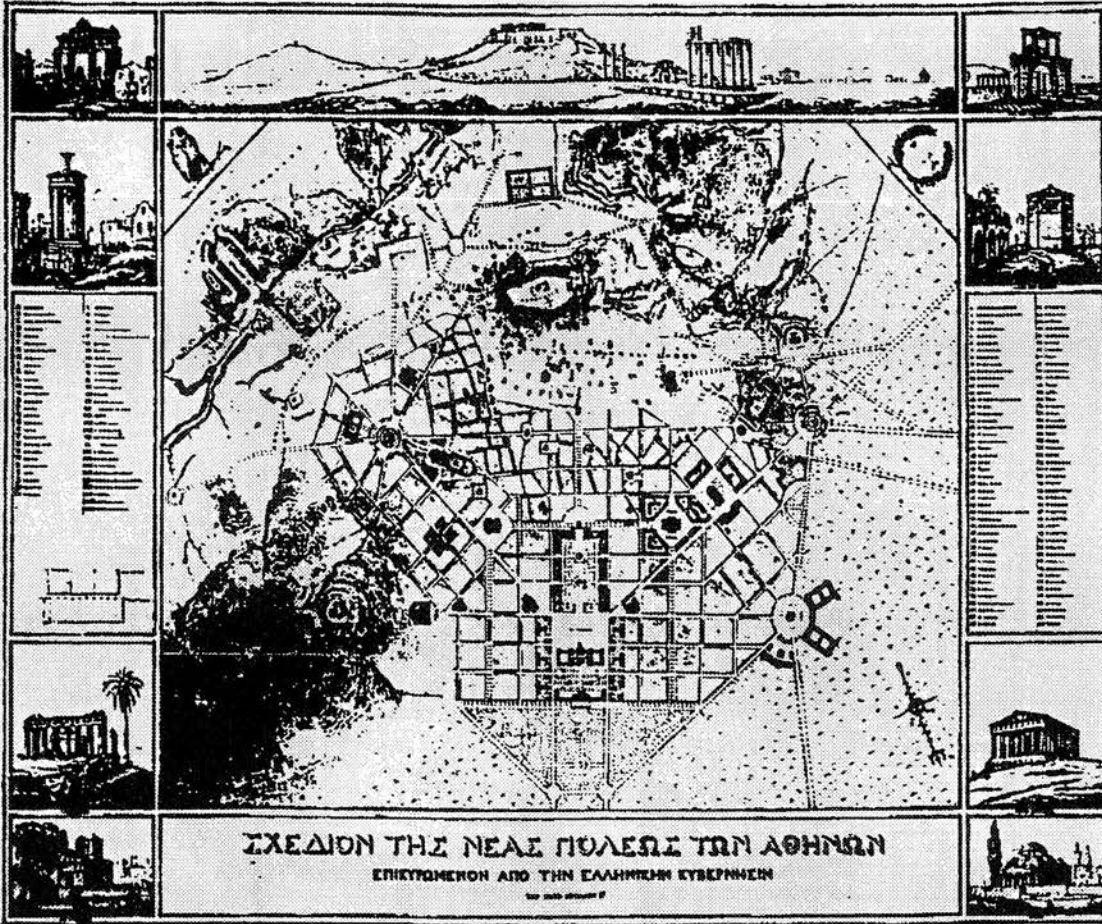




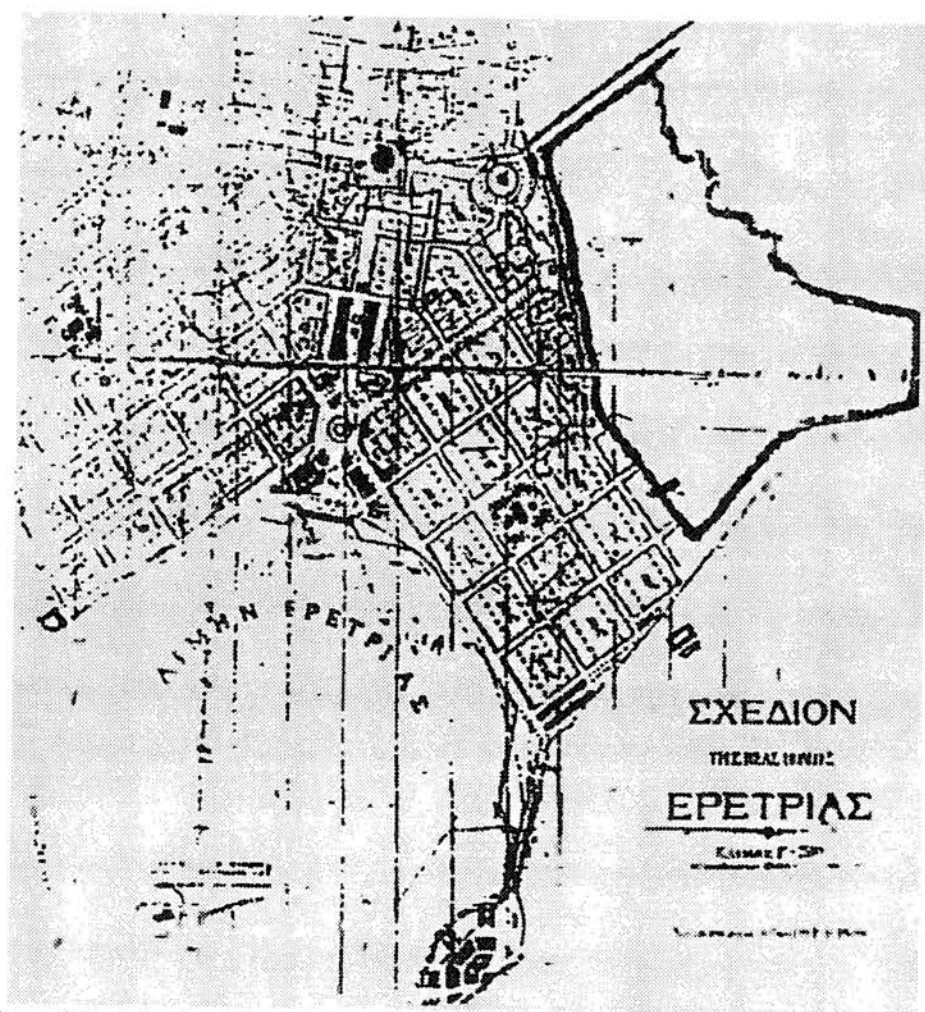
Pl. 16. Renaissance designs for ideal cities.

Top: City by Pietro Cataneo, *I Quattro primi libri di architettura*, 1554.

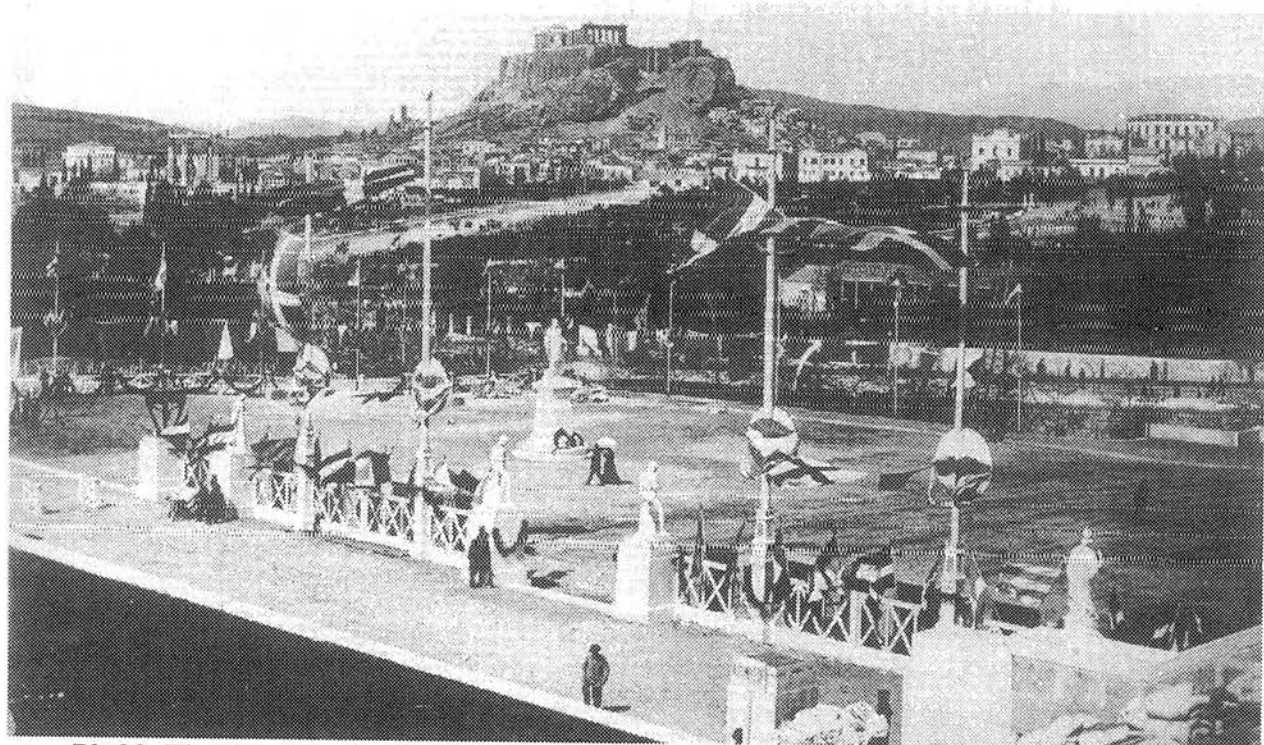
Below: City by Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Dell' Idea dell'architettura universale*, 1615.



Pl. 17. Plan for the City of Athens. Stamatios Kleanthis and Edward Schaubert, 1833. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Note how on both sides of the plan there is a list of existing ancient and Byzantine monuments that needed to be included in the map.



Pl. 19. Plan of Eretria, by Kleanthis and Schaubert, 1834. GAK, Ministry of the Interior.



Pl. 20. The Panathinaiko Stadium during the first Olympic Games. National Historical Archives, Photographic Collection, Sept. 2001.

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**KLENZE'S DESIGN FOR ATHENS
PLAN DER NEUSTADT ATHEN
ENTWORFEN VON LEO BITTER KLENZE
AN GENOMMEN VON S.M. DEM KONIGE OTTO VON GRIECHENLAND
IN ATHEN DEN SEPTEMBER 1834
UND VEROEFFENTLIGHT VON DER GRIECHISCHEN REGENTSCHART
SEPTEMBER 1834**

ACROPOLIS

HERMOU STREET (A2)

FEIDIOU STREET (A1)

PIRAEUS STREET (A3)

FSQ

ASQ

Y

A2

F2

B1

LS

M

L

D

BSF

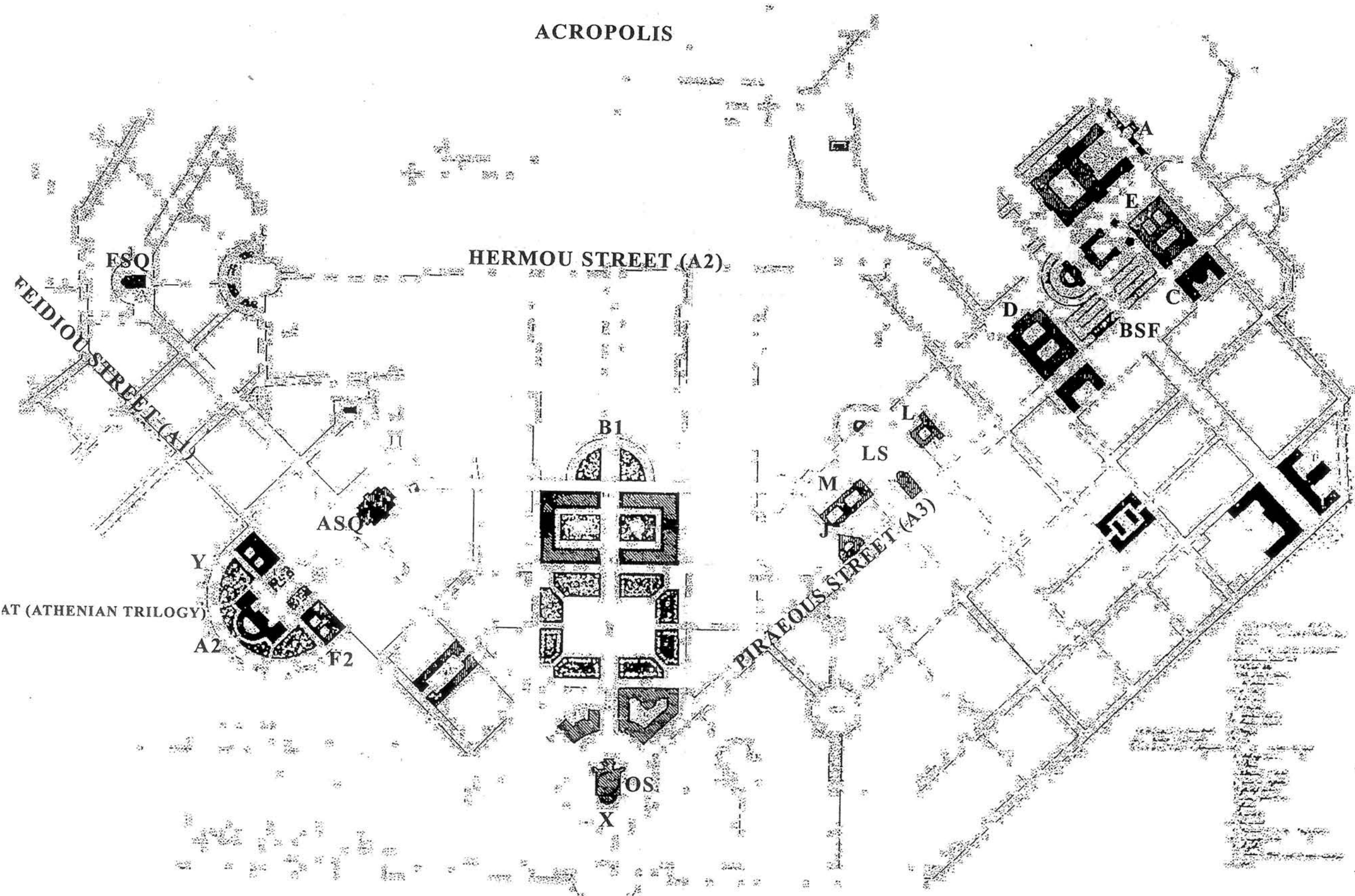
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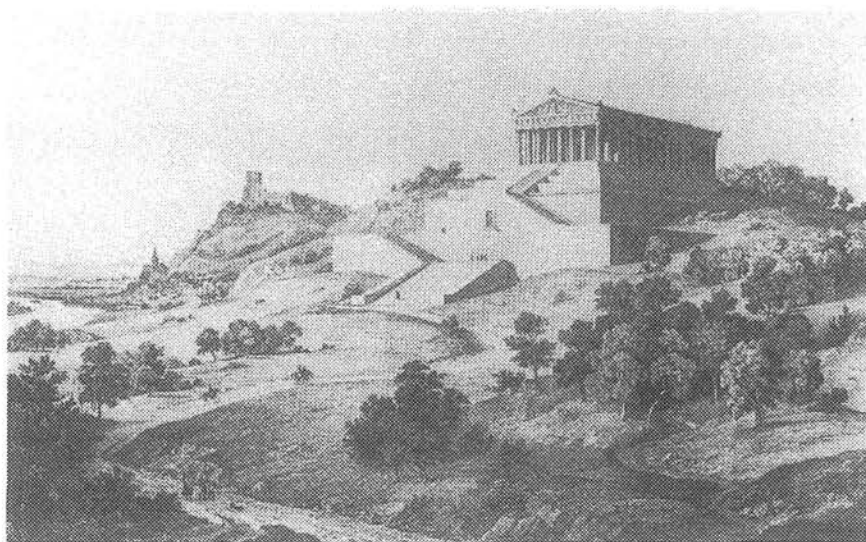
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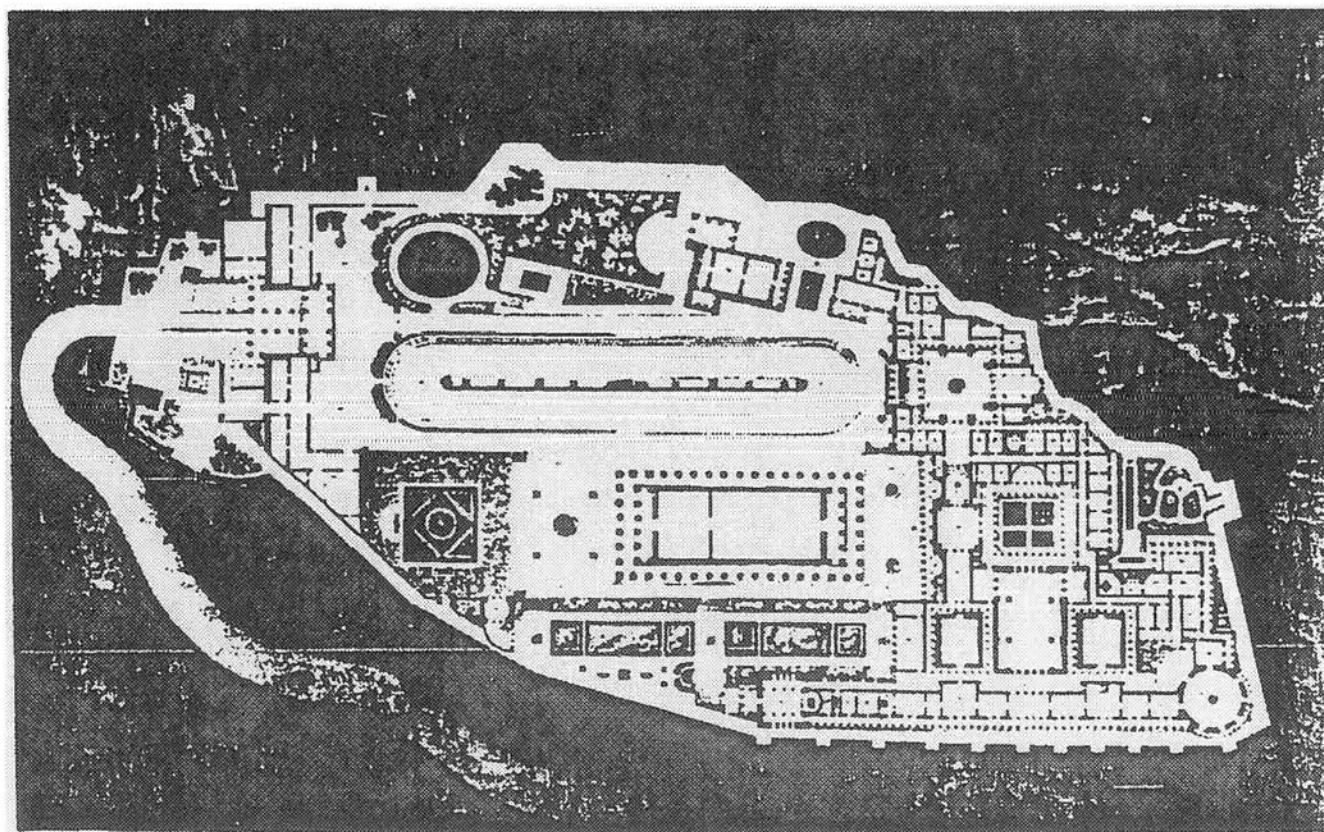
AT (ATHENIAN TRILOGY)



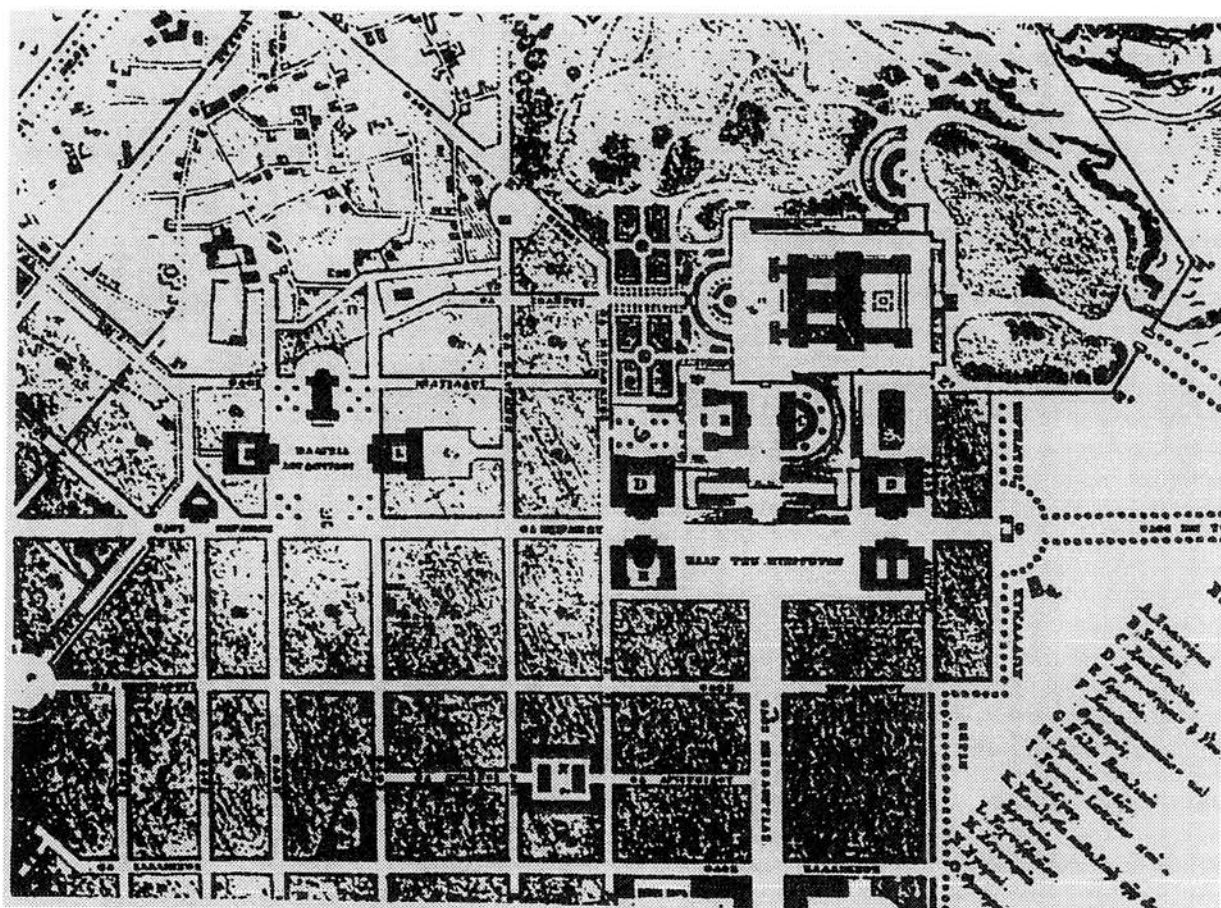
Pl. 21. Plan for the City of Athens. All public buildings, main avenues and squares have been identified on the plan. Leo von Klenze, 3 September 1834, Stadtmuseum, Munich.



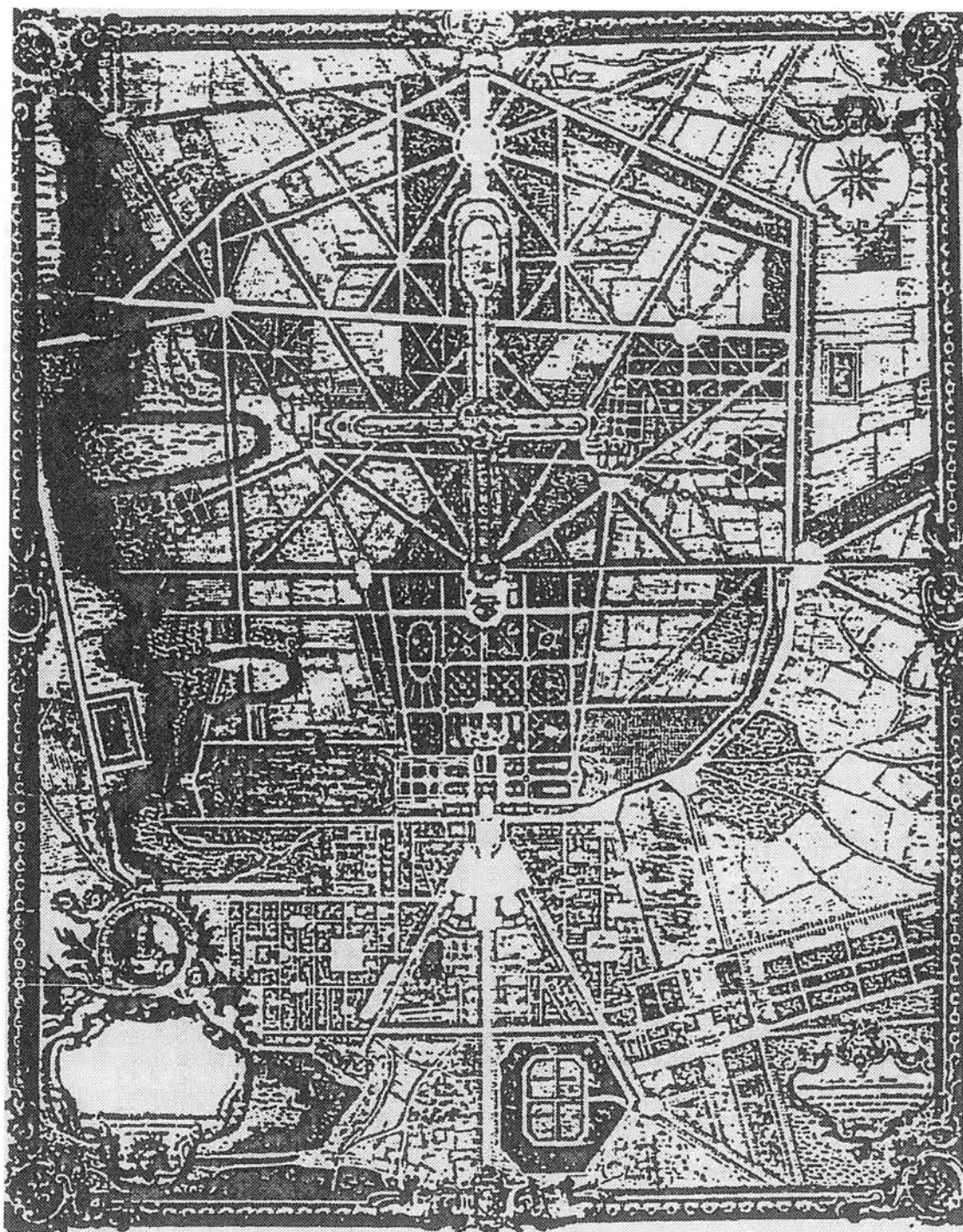
Pl. 22. Leo von Klenze, Walhalla near Regensburg (1830-1842). Lithograph by Carl August Lebschée after a painting by Klenze. Munich, Architekturmuseum, Technische Universität München. Herrmann, Wolfgang. *In what style should we build?*



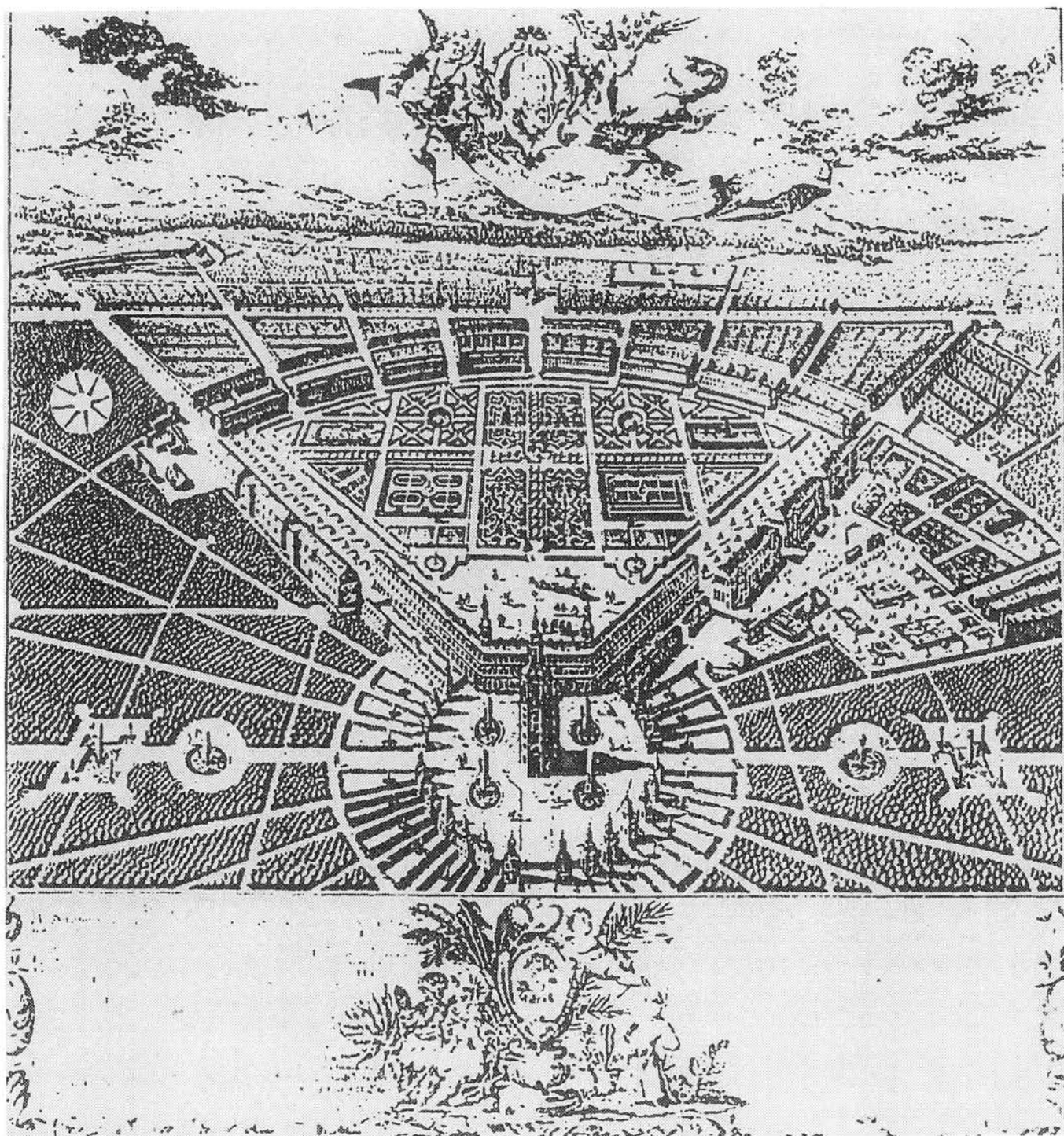
Pl. 23. Schinkel's Plan for a royal palace on the Acropolis. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*.



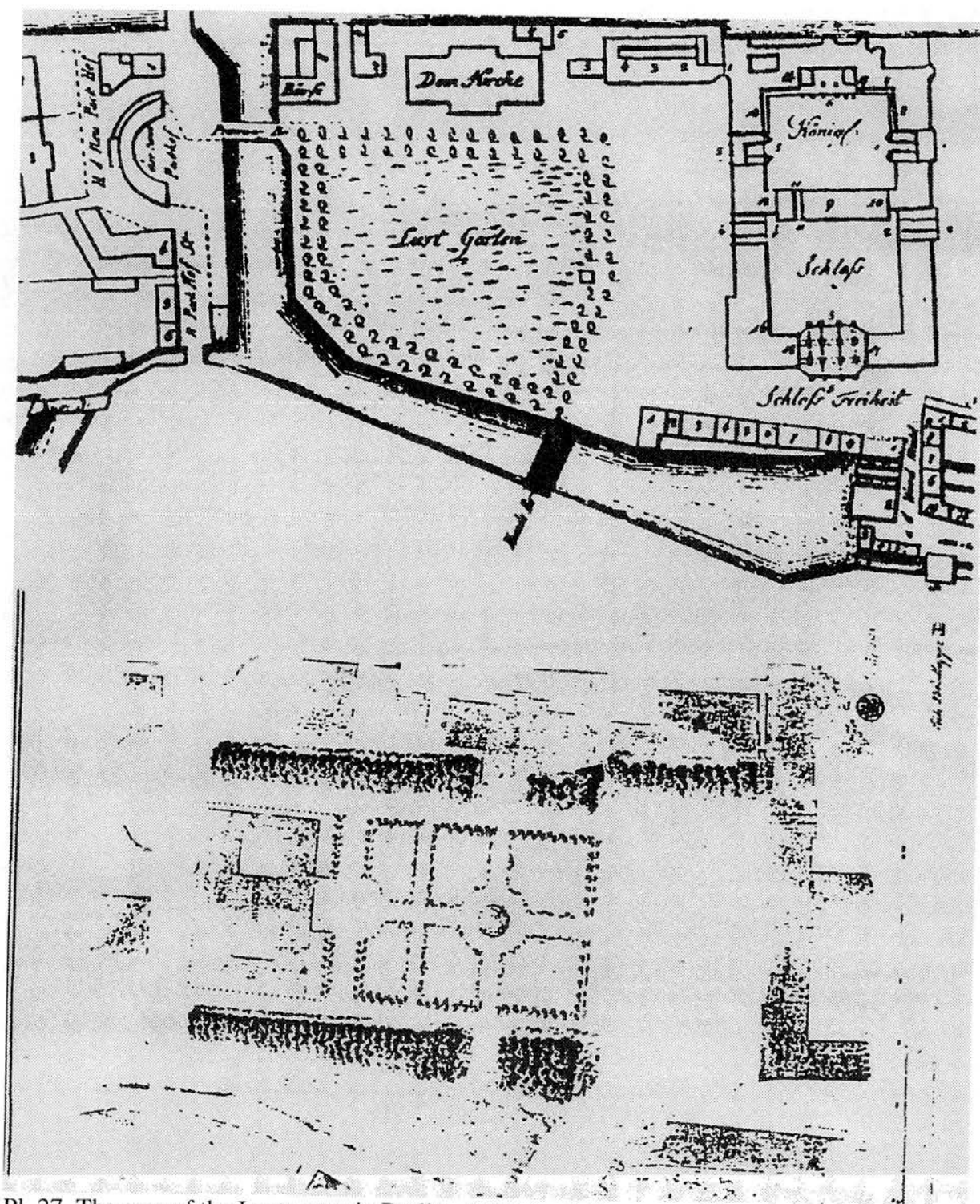
Pl. 24. Plan for New Athens designed by Leo von Klenze, detail of the palace. Leo von Klenze, 3 September 1834, Stadtmuseum, Munich.



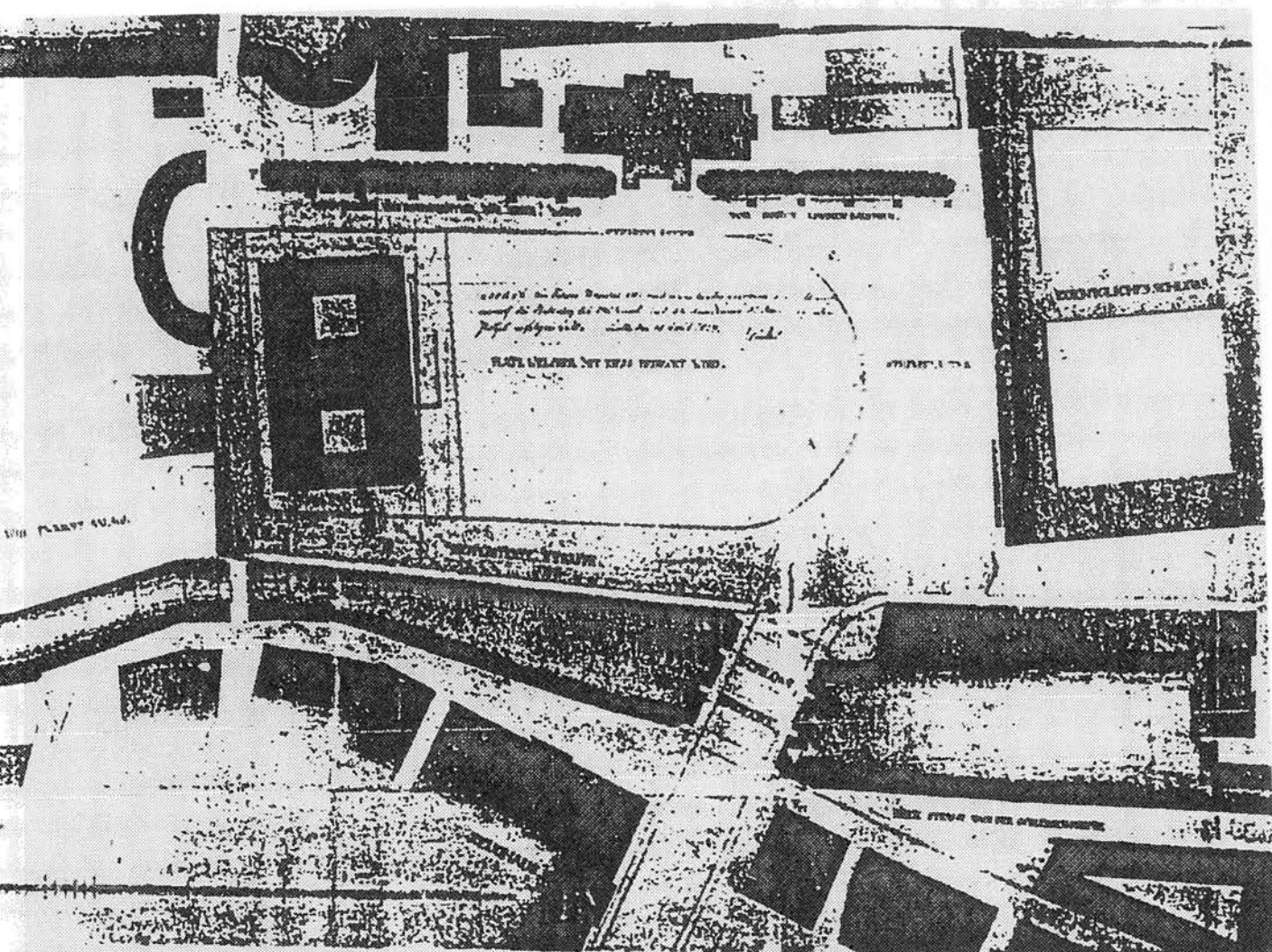
Pl. 25. Plan of Versailles at the end of the Louis XIV's reign. Sica mentions that Versailles' planning was an urbanistic application of 17th century garden design principles. These same principles were also adopted by various European cities in the early 19th century. Sica, *Storia dell'urbanistica, Il Settecento*.



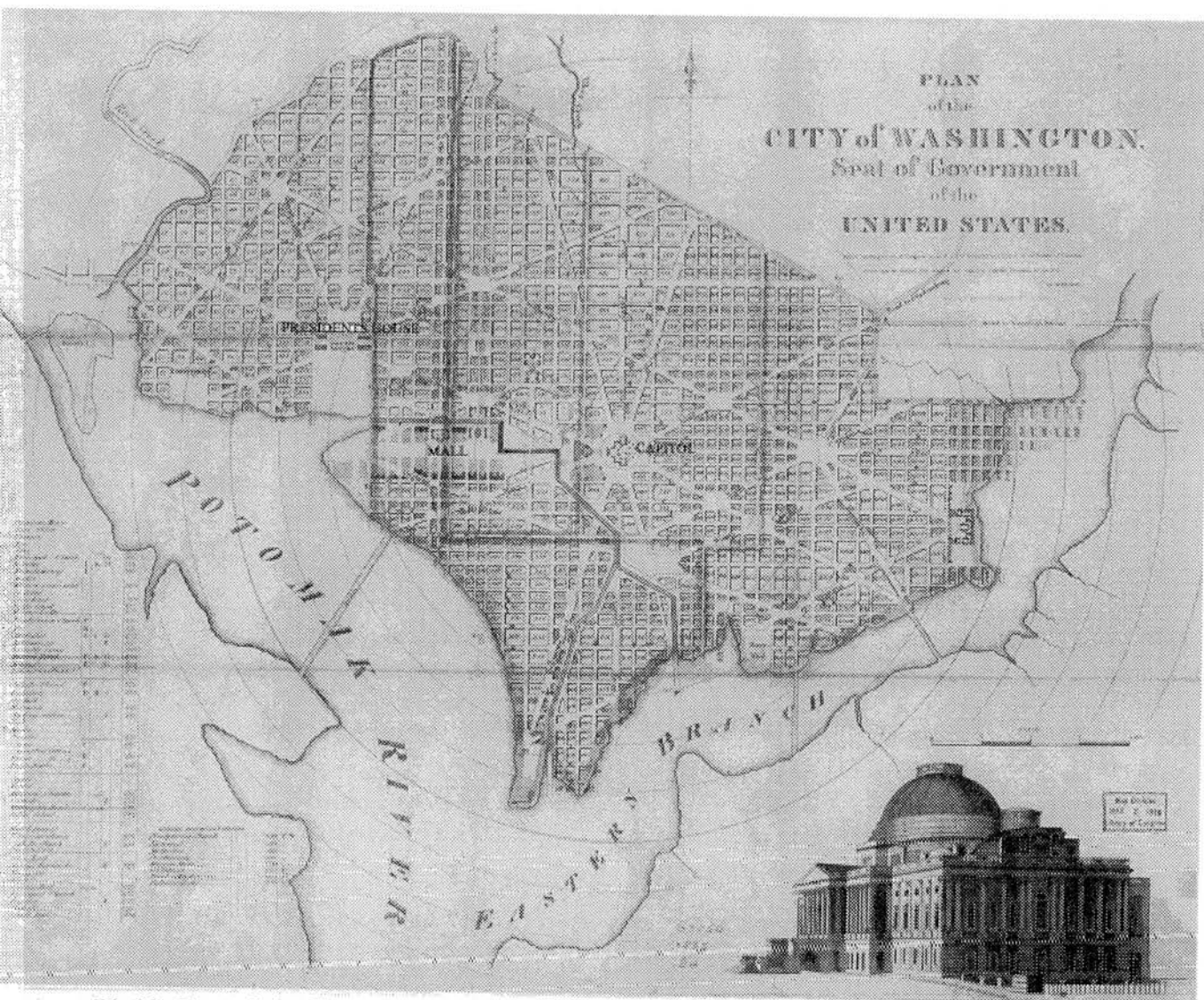
Pl. 26. Veduta of Karlsruhe, 1739. Sica, *Storia dell'urbanistica, Il Settecento*.



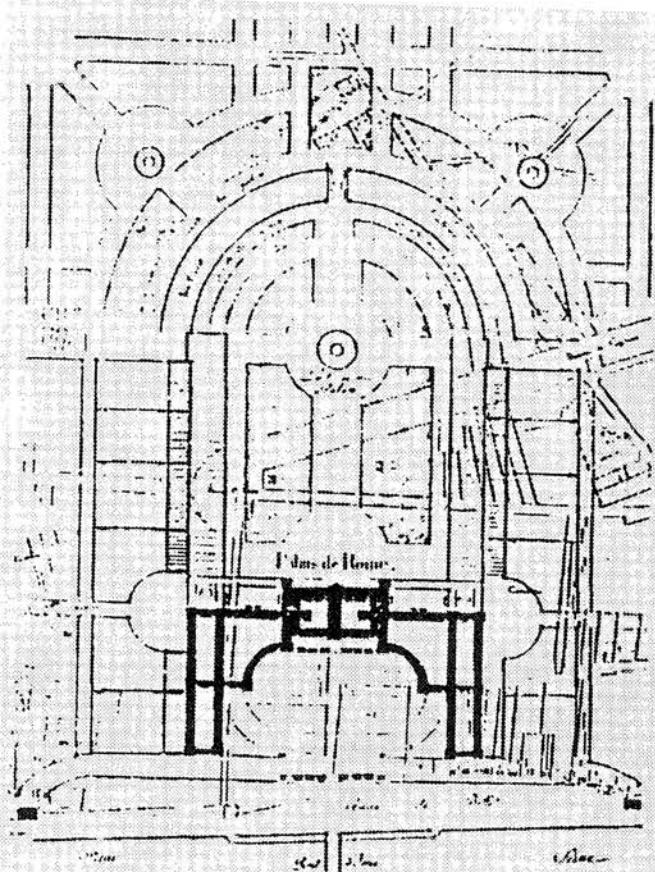
Pl. 27. The area of the Lustgarten in Berlin. At the top is the map of the area in 1812 and below is Schinkel's landscaping proposal in 1828. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*.



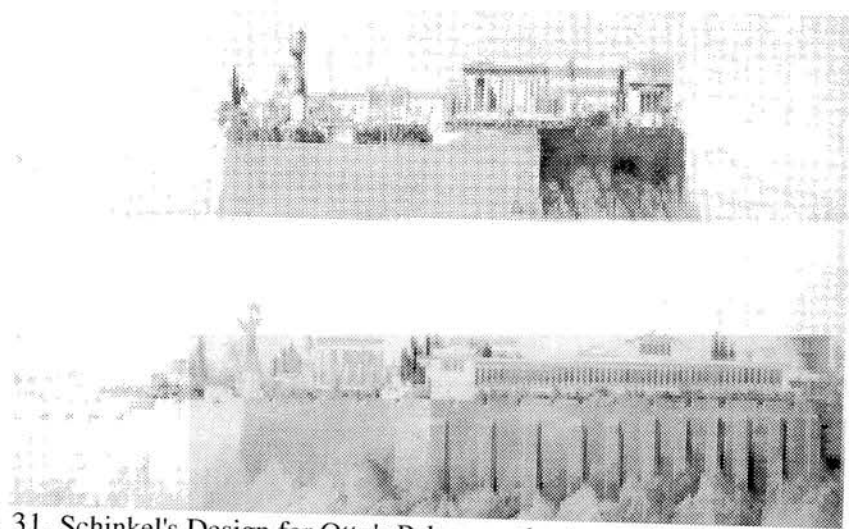
Pl. 28. Focus on the Museum facing the existing Palace in the plan for the development of the Lustgarten area in Berlin. When we compare this with Schinkel's plan of 1812 for Lustgarten we can note the regularising efforts of Schinkel. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*.



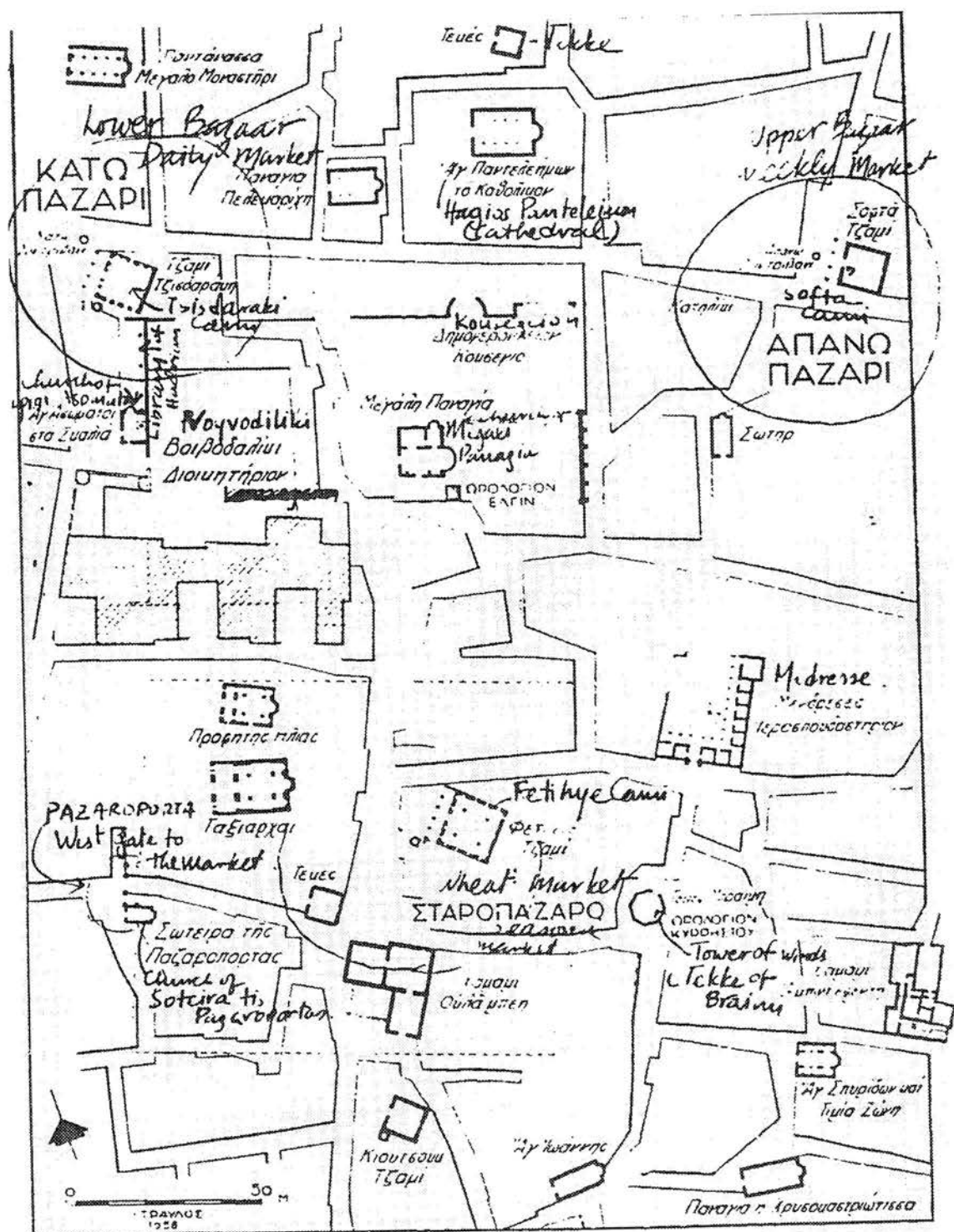
Pl. 29. Plan of the City of Washington, Federal State Archives, Washington, DC.



Pl. 30. Project for the development of the Champs de Mars and the Chaillot Hills with a palace for the Roi de Rome. To the left: P.F.L. Fontaine 1812. To the right: Palace plan within the general plan. Lavendan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme*.



Pl. 31. Schinkel's Design for Otto's Palace on the Acropolis, watercolour 1834. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*.

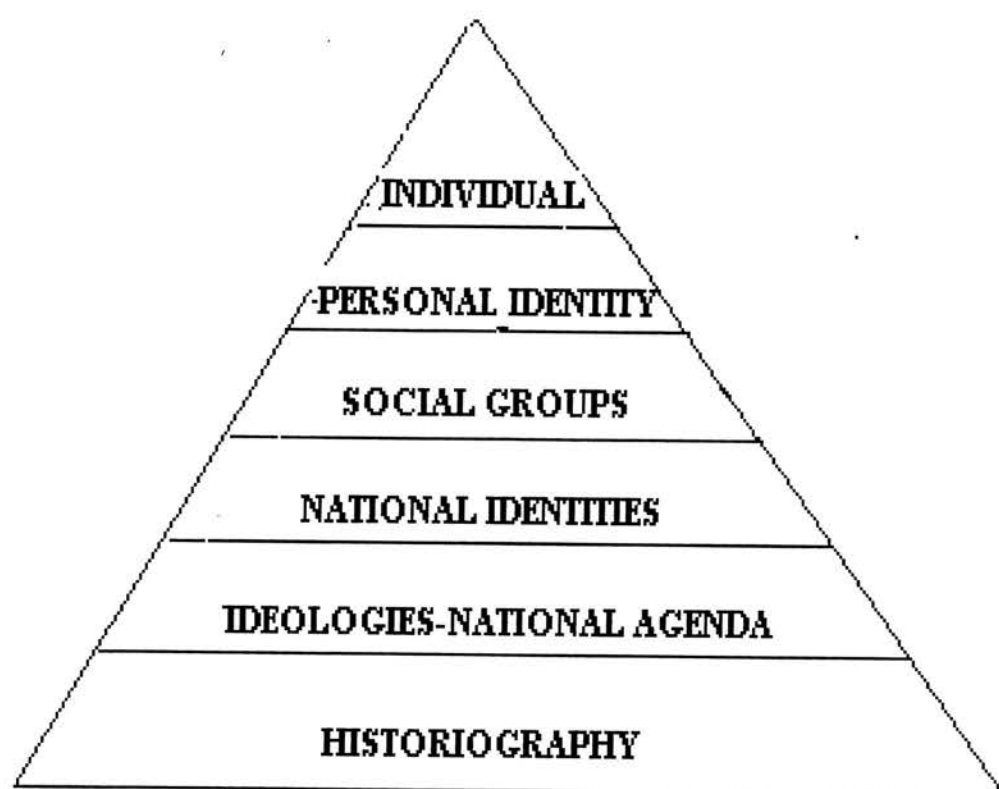


Pl. 33. Map of the Market of Athens during the Ottoman period. Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, based on Travlos, *Poleodomike*.

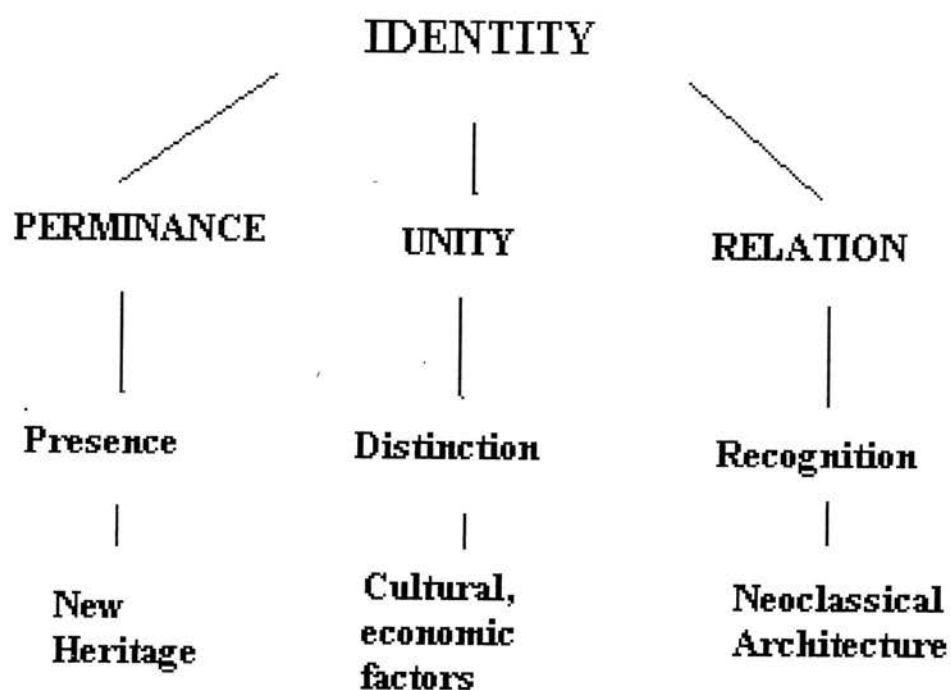


Pl. 34. Finished plan of Athens of 1877. Curtius, E. & Kaupert, J.A. *Atlas von Athen*, Berlin, 1878.

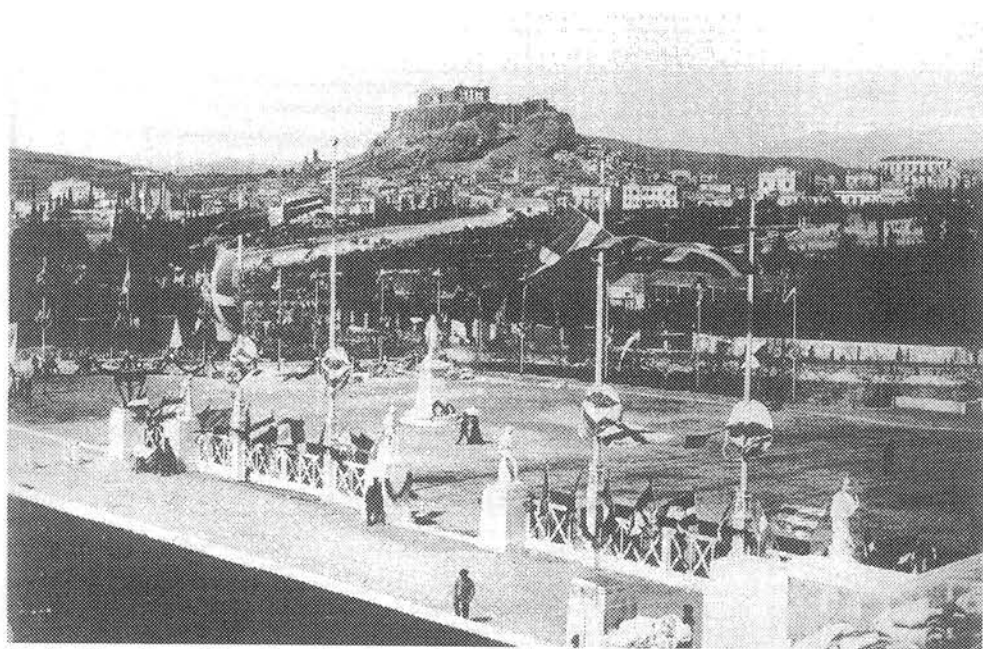
CHAPTER FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS



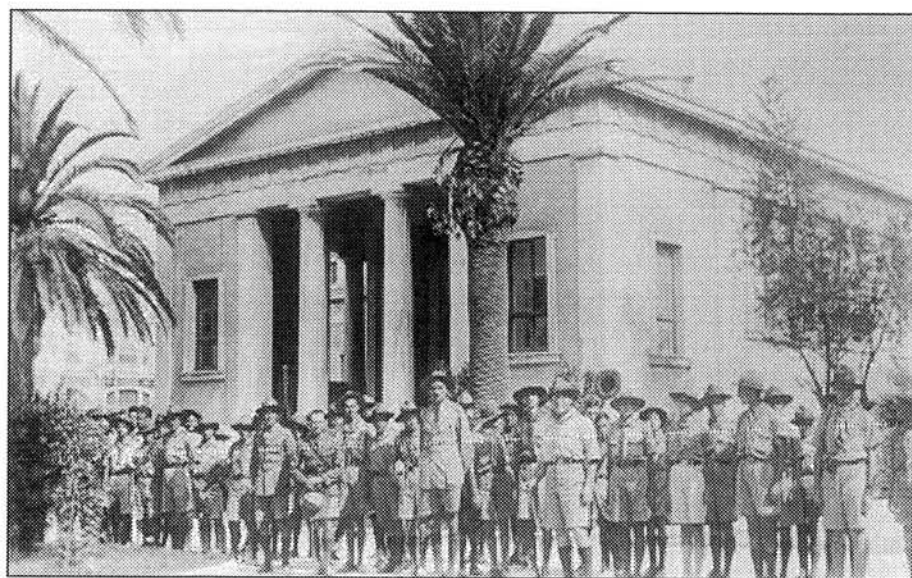
Pl. 1. Historical Consciousness ladder. Drawing of the author.



Pl. 2. The components that form an identity and their associations with material culture. Drawing of the author.



Pl. 3. The Panathinaiko Stadium during the first Olympic Games. National Historical Archives, Photographic Collection (Sept. 2001).



Pl. 4. Greek Academy in Alexandria, 1880, Egypt,
Benaki Museum Photographic Collection

APPENDIX A

1. THE MEGALI IDEA (GREAT IDEA)

On January 14, Ioannis Kolettis, the politician from Epirus, in a speech which, was a landmark in the political history of the Greek state, opposed to the divisive autochthon arguments the unifying perspective for the Hellenism, the Great Idea:

[...] "I shudder at the thought of the day we took the oath for the liberty of the country, for which we swore on everything, even to lay down our lives for our country. How strongly do we need to feel the importance of this oath on this occasion, in which we have assembled to form a constitution, the bible of our political existence? Because of its geographical position, Greece is the centre of Europe. With the East on its right and the West on its left, Greece is destined to enlighten via its rebirth the East as it enlightened the West with its decline. With this oath and this great idea I always saw the plenipotentiaries of the Nations assemble to decide not any longer for the destiny of Greece but for that of the whole Greek nation. How I wish Germanos, Zaimis, Kolokotronis, the plenipotentiaries of the national assemblies of the past and those who took up arms even for this general purpose would be present today to admit along with me that we have deviated greatly from the great and broad idea of the country which we saw expressed first in the song of Rigas. United in only one spirit, fraternized with that sacred oath, those of us who were named Greeks won part of the entire objective. But now we are occupied with vain discriminations between Greeks and Greeks, Christians and Christians, we, which bearing in one hand the flag of the religion and in the other that of freedom worked hard for many years for the liberation of all the Christians of the same denomination [...]"

The victory of autochthonism is reflected (and restricted) in the celebrated second resolution of the National Assembly. This resolution determines the characteristics of the state employees through which the exclusion of part of the heterochthons in the public life was attempted. The resolution which was finally approved is considered as one of the less aggressive to have been proposed by the autochthons. The heterochthon Al.

Mavrokordatos, which as president of the meeting chose to put the particular draft -one of many- to the vote contributed to this.

The entire speech of I. Kolettis is published in: Kyriakidis, E. *Istoria tou synchronou ellinismou 1832-1892 (History of the Modern Greek State)*, Athens, Igglesi Publications, 1892: 494-500

2. OTTO'S DETHRONEMENT

Before the final departure, Otto issued the following proclamation which, was published in the following days in newspapers of Corfu and Trieste:

"Greeks! Persuaded that after the last events which took place in various parts of the Kingdom, and particularly in the capital, my further stay in Greece at this moment may lead the inhabitants of this country to violent riots which will difficultly be repressed, I decided to depart from this country which I loved and still love and for the prosperity of which I spared no care and pains for about thirty years. Having avoided all demonstrations and my only priority were the true interests of Greece and I tried with all my powers to promote the material and moral development of the country, drawing my attention mostly on the impartial administration of justice. Each time there were political accusations against me, I always showed the greatest indulgence and forgetfulness for what had happened! I return to my place of birth; I feel sorry as I think of the disasters of which my beloved Greece is threatened by the new developments and beg the merciful God to always accord His grace to the destiny of Greece".

Issued at the port of Salamina on 12/24 October 1862. Otto

The proclamation of the Provisional Government and the proclamation of Otto to the Greek people are published in: Kyriakidis, E. *Istoria tou Synchronou Ellinismou. 1832-1892, (History of the Modern Greek state)* vol. 2, Athens, Igglesi Publications, 1892: 172- 180.

3. THE LANGUAGE DEBATE

Dionysios Solomos, *DIALOGUE* (extract)

(1824)

POET: I have understood; You want to talk about the language; I have nothing on my mind but freedom and the language! It was the one which started treading on the heads of the Turks, it is the one which will soon tread on scholasticism, and then both, embracing one another, they will proceed on the road of glory, without ever coming back, whether a Savant caws or a Turk barks; because to me, they are both the same. [...]

SAVANT: Does the language seem like a minor benefit to you? You can teach anything through language; therefore, you must first teach the right words.

POET: Savant, the writer does not teach words, in fact he learns them from the people as they use them; even children know this.

SAVANT (*Raising his voice*): Do you know the Greek language, Sir? Do you know it, have you studied it since the time you were a child?

POET (*Raising his voice even more*): Do you know the Greek people, Sir? Do you know them, have you studied them since the time you were a child? [...]

SAVANT: What kind of nobility could there be if our words are corrupt?

POET: The kind of nobility that English words had before Shakespeare wrote, the one French words had before Racine did, the one Greek words had before Homer, and they all wrote the words of their time. Every language should necessarily have words from other languages; and the nobility of languages is like the nobility of people. You are a noble man, your father is a noble too, your grandfather as well, but as you move on, you will certainly find the man who used to play the flute while the sheep were grazing. [...]

SAVANT: So you want the present language to be the basis on which we should embellish our language, not the Greek one?

POET: So I have decided.

SAVANT: And how is that to happen? There are so many dialects in Greece and we cannot understand each other.

POET: How many dialects? How many? Do not be deceived by the difference in pronunciation, in judging the dialects of Greece; what if we have ten words which are differently pronounced in Morea? And after all, what are these big differences? We say *pater-o*, [beam] and elsewhere they say *patero*, we say *mati-a*, and elsewhere they say *matia*, [glance] we say *aeras*, [air] and elsewhere they call it *ayeras*, we say *imboroune*, [they can] and elsewhere they say *imboroun*; what kinds of differences are these? can't we understand each other? Let this be said by Italians, whom we can really not understand.

Kapsomenos, E. (edit.), *Dionysios Solomos: Anthology of themes of the poetry of Solomos*, Athens, Greek Parliament, 1998: 111, 113, 116 and 120-121.

Giannis Psycharis, *TO TAXIDI MOY* [MY JOURNEY] (extract)
(1888)

Our teachers try to change human nature. They think that *gradually* all the people in Greece will learn grammar perfectly, as long as they go to school, and that one day (which day?) everyone will learn the structure of the ancient language, he will be able to say all the forms just like they are taught in books, that he will have and keep them through the centuries, without changing a single letter. Thus we were made to say *zomos* [juice] instead of *zoumi* and other things like that. What have they accomplished? The people confuse one with the other, neither can they tell you *zoumi* anymore, nor can they digest *zomos*, which sounds weird in our language today, so they sometimes come up with *zoumos* and *zomi*. Katharevousa means disaster and ruin for the ancient and modern language alike. The language is destroyed, gone; whatever the teachers say, no power in the world will ever make the people stop being people. They will ruin our national language and will not *introduce* the ancient one. They will only load our pure language with barbarian forms, such as *zoumos* and *zomi*. The people will create such forms every day, because fight all you want, even if you're God, you will not turn people into books.

Nobody knows the ancient language naturally; he needs a grammar in order to learn it. But up to now, there has never been, nor will there ever be, neither in Greece, a whole nation consisting of scholars and clerks alone. We have had enough of the scribbling job. They have ruined our lives. Leave all that and do not listen to the teachers. You want to write? Then grab a sword instead of a pen, and -just like Botsaris- write with it something that the people will read.

Psycharis, *To taxidi mou*, Athens, Nepheli, 1988: 284-285.

APPENDIX B

1. THE MYTH OF HEPHAISTOS

Hephaistos, God of the Forge, was the personification of subterranean and terrestrial fire. He is the archetypal mechanic or engineer. Hephaistos shares something in common with Prometheus who stole "fire" from the Gods.

Hephaistos was born of Hera alone. Hephaistos is credited with striking the blow, which released Athena from the cranium of Zeus. Whether Zeus fathered Hephaistos or not, he rejected him forthwith. In one version, Hera abandoned him also, hurling her lame son into the sea from Olympian heights. This rejection and abandonment led him to judge himself as "imperfect" and his compensation was to achieve technological perfection through his work.

Hera's heart softened when she saw her son, and she tempered her attitude toward him. But Zeus never accepted him for how could he claim the imperfect as his own creation? Hephaistos always took his mother's side when they fought. Seeking to prevent Zeus from beating his mother, another tale recounts how Zeus hurled Hephaistos down to earth. He landed, half-dead, in the island of Lemnos where he was cared for by a guild of dwarfish miners and metal-workers.

Here he took on his nature as the god of "earthy" fire. His name is said to mean 'fire' or ruler of fire. Other than the metaphor, which associates him with lightning, he is distinguished from the celestial fire of Zeus. Earthy fire promotes civilisation by giving us the ability to work metals. Hephaistos thus became the archetypal blacksmith, characterised by his powerful upper body and the quality of his artistic and mechanical creations. In ancient Greece it was customary for lame men to become smiths.

Even though he lacked physical symmetry and personal grace, his inventive spirit found an area in which he could excel--the working of metals. He is characteristically depicted as grasping his hammer and tongs in his hands, ready to work and temper the raw metal.

Hephaistos was a prolific artist, creating artefact after artefact of great precision and beauty. Many appealed to him for his services. Even the haughty Zeus came to him for help in punishing Prometheus and men for the crime of stealing the celestial fire--consciousness. Prometheus stole fire from the gods -- the fire of technological or scientific knowledge. For this infraction he was chained to a mountain and his liver was pecked at for a seeming eternity.

Zeus commissioned Hephaistos to create the body of the first woman from water and clay, taking care to make her a resplendent beauty. Zeus breathed life into her. Pandora, a human-sized Great Mother with her magic box of evils, misery, suffering, and disease was loosed on the world. The woes of physical life come along with corporeal existence. This discovery led to the proposal of a new theory of human origins--that we are the fruit of the soil. Ordinary clay acts like a chemical factory by storing and transmitting energy. It can transform inorganic raw materials into more complex molecules from which life arises. In Genesis, Adam is formed of the "dust" of the earth. Hephaistos seeks his illumination from within. Wisdom, prudence, and circumspection guide his will.

2. THE MYTH OF PROMETHEUS

Prometheus was known as the rebel God. He tried to trick Zeus (who knows all and sees all) with a false sacrifice. He stole fire from Zeus and gave it to the primitive mortals on the earth. Zeus did not punish Prometheus alone, he punished the entire world for the effrontery of this rebel god.

Prometheus was the son of Iapetos and Klymene. His name means 'Forethought'. Prometheus was a God long before Zeus took the Throne of Eternity. He fought for Zeus against the devising Kronos, but Prometheus never had true respect for Zeus. He feared that the new Olympians had no compassion for each other or the mortals on the earth below. To show his disdain, Prometheus prepared two sacrifices and, in an attempt to belittle father Zeus, he made one sacrifice of fat and bones and the other of the finest meat. The trick was, Prometheus had wrapped the fat in such a way that it looked to be the most sincere tribute of the two. Zeus saw through the trick and magnanimously controlled his anger. He warned Prometheus but did not punish him. Zeus had many plans for the reshaping of creation. After the fall of Kronos and his confinement in Tartaros, Zeus took no interest in the mortal race of men on the bountiful earth, he intended for them to live as primitives until they died off. Zeus said that knowledge and divine gifts would only bring misery to the mortals and he insisted that Prometheus not interfere with his plans.

Despite Zeus' warning, Prometheus took pity on the primitive mortals and again, he deceived Zeus. Prometheus gave the mortals all sorts of gifts: brickwork, woodworking, telling the

seasons by the stars, numbers, the alphabet (for remembering things), yoked oxen, carriages, saddles, ships and sails. He also gave other gifts: healing drugs, signs in the sky, the mining of precious metals, animal sacrifice and all art.

To compound his crime, Prometheus had stolen fire from Zeus and given it to the mortals in their dark caves. The gift of divine fire unleashed a flood of inventiveness, productivity and, most of all respect for the immortal gods in the rapidly developing mortals. Within no time (by immortal standards), culture, art, and literacy permeated the land around Olympus. When Zeus realised the deception that Prometheus had fostered, he was furious. He had Hephaistos shackle Prometheus to the side of a crag, high in the Caucasus Mountains. On these mountains Prometheus would hang until the fury of Zeus subsided.

Each day, Prometheus would be tormented by Zeus' eagle as it tore at his immortal flesh and tried to devour his liver. Each night, as the frost bit its way into his sleep, the torn flesh would mend so the eagle could begin anew at the first touch of Dawn. Zeus' anger did not stop there. He intended to give the mortals one more gift and undo all the good Prometheus had done. He fashioned a hateful thing in the shape of a young girl and called her Pandora. Her name means, 'giver of all' or 'all endowed'. Her body was made by Hephaistos, he gave her form and voice. Athena gave her dexterity and inventiveness. Aphrodite put a spell of enchantment around her head and Hermes put pettiness in her tiny brain. She was ready for the world. Zeus gave Pandora to Ephemetheus (brother of Prometheus). Ephemetheus knew better than to trust Zeus and he had been warned by Prometheus never to accept gifts from the Olympians, especially Zeus. One look at Pandora and Ephemetheus was rendered helpless. He could not resist her, he accepted her willingly. When the gift was 'opened', evil and despair entered into this world. Mistrust and disease spread over the wide earth. After Pandora was emptied of her curse, Hope was left inside; unreasonable, groundless Hope that makes the curse of life into a blessing.

Hence Prometheus was destined to suffer at the hands of his own kind; Gods punishing Gods. To him, the saddest part of his punishment was the implication that the gods (Zeus in particular) had lost their right to rule because they had lost touch with their hearts.

As Prometheus was hanging, shackled to the rockface, he spoke to Ocean and the river's daughters. They were all shocked at Zeus' excesses but Prometheus warned them not to speak out against Zeus, it would do no good. Zeus would soon fall from his throne and they had but to wait for that inevitable moment. When Io, who had also been punished at Zeus' will, came upon Prometheus and the daughters of Ocean, she wanted to know her future. Prometheus, even in his tortured condition, tried to spare the feelings of the poor girl. She had been transformed into a black and white heifer and was cursed to wander, prodded by an evil gadfly. Her future was only slightly better than his, she was lucky because she was mortal and would die and be rid of her earthly torment. He, on the other hand, was immortal. His torment would last forever.

The journey of Io was crucial to the release of Prometheus from his bonds. After her wandering journey to Egypt, Io was returned to her human form and had a glorious son named Epaphos. Thirteen generations later, Heraklis climbed the mountain, killed the eagle and freed Prometheus from his shackles.

APPENDIX C

Love for the cradle of the arts and sciences, Athens, and the absence of a good plan for it, which is noticeable by all its visitors, urged us in November of the previous year (1831) to make an exact map of the city and the nearby suburbs, through which we combine two goals: Foreseeing, on the one hand, that the learned world of Europe would take an interest in that work, we took pains to register exactly all old ruins and remnants, even bare foundations, several of which have been newly discovered in recent years, and to mark the heights and depths more accurately than it had been done in earlier maps. On the other hand, we did believe that perhaps the government would later use our survey as a useful preliminary work for the plan of the reconstruction of Athens out of its ruins, whether or not this city should be designated as the future capital of Greece. This is why we drew the plan at a much larger scale than would have been necessary for solely archaeological purposes: a scale of 1:2000. We believed that we served both objectives by meticulously recording the names of all existing churches, since in archaeology one can sometimes draw conclusions from the name of a church about a building which existed earlier in its place. In May of the present year (1832) we were actually commissioned by the provisional government to design the drawings of New Athens, keeping in mind the glory and the beauty of the ancient one.

As honourable as this commission was, we did not undertake the solution to this relatively difficult task without fear. This was made even more difficult by the fact that we did not know whether to imagine Athens as a future capital or a mere provincial city, nor did we know the extent of the resources which the government planned to use for the construction in either one of the cases.

Being in such doubt, we believed we had better foundations following the public opinion of Greece and the collective expectation of the Hellenes; thus in our work we imagined Athens to be the future capital of Hellas and the seat of the King. On this condition we have based the plan, which we now have the honour of presenting to the ministry and we beg permission to add to it a few explanatory remarks.

Athens lies at 53° longitude at 107 feet above sea level, savours a temperate and cheerful sky, and blue and healthy air. The present city lies below the Acropolis and the Aeropagos, at the northern slopes and the foothills, and is bordered to the west by the hilly range of the Pnyx, to the east by the Lycabettus and abuts to the north against the large plateau. The city is circumscribed by a dilapidated wall, which surrounds roughly 898 stremmata [acres] of which hardly two thirds are inhabited and one third is put to agricultural use. The streets are crooked and angular and even the widest are not wider than 13 feet. Most of the houses are still in ruins, especially on the northern slopes of the Acropolis, and the ones which have been rebuilt are mostly huts, except for about 25 houses, which could only cost 2000Rthlr, on the average. There are 115 small churches, of which only 30 are reasonably well-kept and could be renovated. In addition, there are four mosques, only two of which are well preserved, as well as two public baths. On the west side of the Acropolis, the Aeropagos and the abutting hills make an expansion of the present city impossible. On the southern side of the citadel's rocks there exists a rather smooth terrain which steeply slopes towards the waterless riverbed of the Illisos. At the eastern foot of the citadel is a flat plain, bordered tightly on the left by Lycabettus and on the right again by the Illisos and the rocks behind the ancient city of Hadrian. This is the location on which we had to move our designs.

Since we are now working under the assumption that Athens was bound to become the capital, we had to estimate a population of at least 35-40.000 and keep in mind the possibility of an additional expansion of the city. We could undertake the necessary expansion only on the north side in such a way that the new city connects with the old city in the shape of a crescent moon, starting at the east and continuing towards the west. This area had several other advantages.

It is free from fog, healthier, has a refreshing sea breeze, and is easier accessible than the old city of Theseus, which is for the greater part stuck on the slope of the citadel rock; it is nearer Piraeus and nearer to the majestic mountain chain, bordered by the beautiful olive grove, therefore, the view from the site is preferable to any other. The reasons which moved the ancients to gather around the citadel rock and for which they sacrificed the advantages of this other site have ceased to exist; the vicinity to the Kallirhoe well, then the protection which the citadel offered, and the closeness to the sanctuaries. And finally the transfer of the city into the plateau to the north offers the

advantage that the ground of the ancient cities of Theseus and Hadrian remains unbuilt and there is room left for excavations. Even if the present state of Greece should not allow their immediate undertaking, a future generation might accuse the present one of lack of foresight if no attention is paid to it. It would be desirable if the northern slopes of the Acropolis with their antiquities were freed little by little from the rubble which thousands of years have heaped upon it and which 8-12 feet high everywhere and at some places even 18 feet and above.

One would find on this site an unbelievable bounty of art treasures as well as historically important inscriptions, as it happened during some excavations near the Prytaneion and the Tower of the Winds, which were done without a special plan, in the process of building houses. It is therefore to be expected that one would not only find foundations but even remnants of ancient buildings, as was the case of the Tower of Winds. Even if the yield for political history, the art history and the topography of ancient Athens should not prove to be so rich, as could be rightly the remaining antiquities alone should well be worth freeing from the surrounding soil. The closeness of the antiquities to the poor decrepit hut or modern houses only darkens and disturbs the impression which they should make on the beholder. Freeing the antiquities from their surroundings would display them in all their beauty to the eye of the admirers of ancient art as well as to the artists and scientists. Between these monuments the earth would be removed all the way so solid ground, where one would undoubtedly recognize the direction of ancient streets and squares. Once in a while a small picturesque church ruin from the Byzantine Middle Ages could remain to create a pleasant contrast to these works of the ancients. The space between the monuments could be filled with clusters of trees, lawns and other landscaped areas; the placement of the trees could imply the best standpoint for viewing the antiquities, and the whole would be a museum of ancient building art second to none in the whole world.

The place where the greatest bounty from excavations is to be hoped for is marked on the map by a special colour and a broad sidewalk is envisioned at the end of the houses. A good part of this place is already national property, as churches, mosques, Turkish schools, etc. But if the excavations do not start soon, or at least, the ground for which they are designed is not soon appropriated by the state, it is to be feared that

difficulties as well as costs will increase considerable at a later time as the experience of Rome has shown.

[.....]

As to the divisions into districts, we have tried to adapt them as well as possible to each locality, without preventing any desirable irregularities where they were feasible. In doing so, we believed to address two objectives; to find an appropriate place for the royal palace with its adjoining main square as the centre of the city, and to mediate a rather close and comfortable connection with the present city.

Thus the main streets from Piraeus to Eleusis, Thebes, marathon, and Mesogion had to lead to the centre of the city in an appropriate way, the above mentioned existing houses had to be protected if possible and the most important antiquities had to be used as points de vue.

All this we believed could be best attained if we placed the palace north of the Acropolis on an elevated point of the plateau. The main street system comes together in the large square in front of the palace. The most prominent streets meet here in such a way that the balcony of the royal palace overlooks the beautifully formed Lycabettus, the Panathenaic Stadium of Herodes Attikos, the Acropolis, rich and proud in memories, the war-and merchant ships- in Piraeus and the Eleusis Street. On the whole eleven streets radiate from this square, the most important among them being the street to Piraeus, the street of Aeropagos, of Athinas and to the Stadium and three more which lead between the two last mentioned from north to south towards the Acropolis. Their direction was given by the terrain and they in turn dictate the direction of other streets. [...] The street which leads in a straight line from Piraeus to the royal palace cuts shortly after its entrance into the city through a round square, from which other streets spread in all directions. One of these moves in a straight direction from west to east through the old city, cuts into two almost equal halves and ends in a similar round square in the eastern part of the new city, which connects most directly with the Street of Piraeus and the harbour itself. In the above mentioned round square eight streets again coincide, among them the Stadiou Street. [...]

The streets do not form squares everywhere, so that there exists variety. The main streets have to be provided on both sides with 10 feet wide, slightly raised sidewalks. The driving line in the middle should be slightly arched in the centre, with covered

gutters for the drainage of water. In narrow streets small squares should be created by cutting them out. Outside the city, where it leads through the fields, the street which comes upon a straight line from Piraeus and which could later possibly receive a railroad, could be flanked by ditches on each side which should be planted with hardy trees and shrubbery.

As far as the number of inhabitants is concerned we have predicted, as mentioned above, a total of about 40.000 people, with 10 people per house. Every house with a front yard of a garden would take up about 12.000 square feet, and every quarter would contain about 10-15 such houses, which makes a total of 160 quarters. The distribution of public buildings has been planned preferably in two parts, so that on the street from Piraeus after passing the round square, the merchants and business people would find the necessary institutions all together, i.e. the post office, the customs house, the police. At the end of this street one finds the Palace Square and behind it are spread the gardens. To the left and right of the square are situated the two chambers and further up the Lycabettus are the ministries of Finance and War with their adjacent buildings [...] In the eastern part of the city, towards the Illisos and the stadium, in the calmest, quietest area are gathered more scientific and educational institutions; the university, the library, the botanical gardens, the public schools. The cathedral lies along Stadiou Street between the district and the royal palace. In addition to this there is also a large church planned on the other side and the two, together with the many smaller churches, should be sufficient.

Hermann Russack, *Deutsche Bauen in Athen*, Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1942.

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